

The Idea of Race: Its Changing Meanings and Constructions

James H. Sweet - University of Wisconsin at Madison

Abstract

This essay examines the history of race and racism from the medieval period to the present day. Emphasis is placed on anti-black racism in North America; however, the history of race can only be understood in a broad comparative context. The association of innate characteristics tied to biology was a widespread phenomenon with striking similarities (and notable differences) across geographical space. Hence, this essay will analyze anti-African and anti-Black racism in Iberia, the Caribbean, South America, and Africa, as well as in North America. It will also examine the construction of "blackness" as a racial category in comparative perspective. As such, reference is made to the racial construction of "Jews," "Turks," "Moors," "Indians," "Asians," and "Latinos." Finally, the construction of racial categories cannot be separated from the categories of gender and sexuality. The ways in which these categories are linked will also be explored.

The essay is divided into five sections. The first section, "Definitions of Race and Racism," seeks to outline a working definition of "race" from a social and biological perspective. The second section, "A Short History of Anti-Black Racism," charts the evolution of racial thinking from the medieval period until roughly the middle of the eighteenth century, when pseudo-science began to endorse long-held ideas about racial categories. The third section, "Atlantic Expansion of Racial Ideas," examines the ways in which the transatlantic slave trade spread the European racial subjugation of Black Africans. The fourth section, "The Era of Emancipation and the Construction of Racial Science," examines the ways that science has been utilized to articulate and reify racial differences. Finally, in the fifth section, "The Declining Significance of Race?" we will look at some of the ways that race continues to shape ideas and policy making in the twenty-first century.

Definitions of race and racism

This essay examines the history of race and racism from the European medieval period to the present day. Emphasis is placed on anti-black racism in North America; however, in order to understand the development of racism in North America, one must first understand its origins and transformations over time. As such, the approach will be inherently comparative. Scholars have traced racial thinking as far back as classical antiquity, but this essay will concentrate on the period after the late seventh century, when Arab Muslims occupied North Africa. It was during this period that the first extensive exchanges were initiated between sub-Saharan Africans and the rest of the world. Not coincidentally, this is also the period when the first clearly discernible anti-black racism emerged.

Within the limited scope of this essay, the histories of race and racism are defined by four watershed moments. As noted above, the first of these occurs in the late seventh century, when Arab Muslims began an extensive trade in sub-Saharan slaves, funneling black Africans across the Islamic world. For the seven hundred years of Muslim dominance on the world stage, Arabs cultivated a number of racist ideas that are still familiar to many, even today. By the middle of the fifteenth century there was a shift in racial thinking, a sharpening of racial rhetoric and discrimination that was the culmination of events that unfolded in the Iberian Peninsula between 1350 and 1450. This second watershed is exemplified by the opening of the transatlantic slave trade, an event that triggered the eventual involvement of nearly all European nations in the racial subjugation of black Africans. This period also marks the beginning of "modern" racial thinking, the linking of human capacity with immutable biological factors like lineage and "blood purity." The third watershed occurred in the late eighteenth century, when scholars and philosophers began using "science" to explain the biological capacities of various "races" of people. For many contemporary scholars, this pseudo-scientific racism represents the first "true" articulation of racism; however, others see greater continuity between early forms of racism and those tied to biological "science." The final watershed occurs in the period after World War II, as the shock and horror of the Holocaust led to the debunking of racial science, and with the rise of civil rights movements and anti-colonial agitation across the globe. Though the period since the middle of the twentieth century has been marked by extraordinary progress in the fight against racial thinking and racism, it remains unclear whether racism has been thoroughly beaten back, or whether the post-War period represents yet another in a long series of false expectations.

Before embarking on our discussion of the changing constructions of "race" and "racism," we must first define and distinguish the two terms. Some scholars have argued that race is an illusion that cannot operate independently of racism. Racial "attitudes," fleeting and often contradictory, are juxtaposed against institutionalized forms of racism ("ideologies") that are employed as tools to justify other forms of inequality, especially economic inequalities. In this formulation, racial ideology simply masks social, political, and economic oppression. As such, race, in and of itself, does not exist. This is a formidable claim, since such a conclusion would mean that racial categories exist only where there is actual discrimination based on perceived group difference. While there is little doubt that "race," as commonly understood, is a socially constructed category that has no basis in biological "reality,"¹ the cognitive structures that make up categories like race, gender, class, and religion are themselves socially and historically determined. The historical origins and social replication of these cognitive structures result in sets of "durable, transposable" dispositions that French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu calls "habitus," or "the basis of perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences" (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 72–78). For Bourdieu, the

schemes of the habitus, the primary forms of classification, owe their special efficacy to the fact that they function below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny and control by the will. Orienting practices practically, they embed what some would mistakenly call *values* in the most automatic gestures or the apparently most insignificant techniques...and engage the most fundamental principles of construction and evaluation of the social world. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 466.)

In short, habitus is the deeply enmeshed social coding that allows people to classify both themselves and others. Bourdieu stresses the homogenizing impact of habitus on class and religion, noting that individuals are inculcated into a social order where structural orthodoxies strongly influence their behaviors and decisions. Thus, for instance, people adopt and replicate consumer “tastes” (art, music, food, dress, etc.) based on their class habitus, and they adopt notions of divinity, morality, ethics, and so on, based on their religious habitus. The structures of a racialized habitus, based on perceived phenotypical distinctions, might result in similarly homogenizing processes that reduce social or cultural “difference” to innate traits, or “race.”

While trying to locate the precise origins of race might be a futile endeavor, a racialized habitus clearly was employed by the ancient period. These early ideas about race impacted and shaped behavior over the generations that followed. As noted below, there were moments in world history, particularly in medieval and early modern Europe, where there were very few dark-skinned people to whom racial ideas could be applied. Nevertheless, there were other racial “inferiors” who sustained the racialized habitus—Jews, Moors, and Turks, for example. Moreover, there were a plethora of negative and disparaging ideas about the inherent inferiority of dark-skinned “others,” including “black” “Ethiopians.” Thus, racial ideas were not so much “reinvented” or “re-ritualized...to fit [new] terrain” over the course of history. Rather, the racialized habitus operated as a filter through which race could be made socially operant (Fields, 1990, p. 117). Indeed, in the Western context, the idea of white superiority as a structure of racial stratification has remained remarkably consistent across time and space, from the fifteenth century to the present day. Race probably became a part of the human habitus, or “matrix of perceptions,” from the very beginnings of civilization. This racialized habitus—a deeply enmeshed structural propensity to classify human difference according to innate traits—operated as one of several filters that gave social and cultural legitimacy to ideas about power, dominance, and imperialism that were the ultimate expressions of civilization. ² This racialized habitus was most often used as a cognitive tool to distinguish superior peoples from inferior ones, civilized from uncivilized. ³

So what exactly were the elements of these social structures that became enmeshed as human difference? How does one understand the racialized habitus? As noted above, race and expressions of racism existed from at least as far back as classical antiquity. These ideas were not usually applied to Africans; indeed, Greek and Roman racism was most often aimed at Asians who were described as “soft,” with a “deficient masculinity” that made them “servile by nature, or natural slaves, and therefore suited to be subjects ...” (Isaac, 2004, p. 503). Still, similar characterizations were made about Ethiopians, whose dark skin and “stiff hair” marked them as “cowards”. ⁴ The definitions of terms set forth by classicists are among the most compelling evidence for the consistency (in quality) and persistence (over time) of both “race” and “racism.” The classicist Benjamin Isaac has defined “race” as “a group of people who are believed to share imagined common characteristics, physical and mental or moral which cannot be changed by human will, because they are thought to be determined by unalterable, stable physical factors: hereditary, or external, such as climate or geography” (Isaac, 2004, pp. 35–35). These socially imagined characteristics of human difference formed the basis for a racialized habitus from at least the fifth century BC, when environmental factors were thought to shape the essential features of entire groups of peoples, and even nations.

The ways in which race was applied varied from culture to culture, but skin color, and especially “blackness,” were markers of difference that were consistently tied to mental and physical inferiority. This inferiority, exemplified by “blackness,” became the basis for “racism”—“an attitude toward individuals and groups of peoples which posits a direct and linear connection between physical and mental qualities. It therefore attributes to those individuals and groups of peoples collective traits, physical, mental, and moral, which are constant and unalterable by human will, because they are caused by hereditary factors or external influences, such as climate or geography” (Isaac, 2004, p. 23).

A short history of anti-black racism

Although one could point to instances of anti-black racial animus as far back as the ancient period, it was not until the late seventh century that the racialized habitus was applied broadly to “black” Africans and their descendants in the form of racism. By this time, Arabs had occupied North Africa and were making headway into sub-Saharan Africa, enslaving thousands of “black” Africans along the way. ⁵ Africans toiled in the salt mines and plantations of Iraq, leading a major revolt in the ninth century that threatened the Abbasid caliphate (Popovic, 1999). By the eleventh century, some thirty thousand Africans were reported to be working in Bahrain (Khosrau, 1881). Sub-Saharan slaves were also employed in the salt, copper, and gold mines of North Africa. ⁶ In short, black Africans were utilized as slave labor all over the Islamic world.

Muslims justified their enslavement of Africans in a multitude of ways that can only be classified as racist. Some of the earliest expressions of blackness as a “curse” emanated from the biblical story of Ham. In the early eighth century, Wahb ibn Munabbih, an Arab of Persian origin, wrote, “Ham, the son of Noah, was a white man, fair of face. God—Mighty and Exalted is He—changed his color and the color of his descendants because of the curse of his father” (Hunwick and Powell, 2002, p. 37). By the eleventh century, the curse of blackness was tied to permanent and pernicious assumptions about innate abilities. Describing Zanj (East African) slaves

in Baghdad, Ibn Butlan wrote:

The blacker they are, the uglier they are, the more pointed their teeth are, the less use they are and the more it is to be feared they will harm you. They are generally of bad character, and much given to running away. Their dispositions know no gloom. Dancing and rhythm are inborn in them and natural to them. Because of their inability to speak Arabic correctly, people turned to them for music and dancing. It is said that if a Zanj fell down from heaven to earth he would surely do so to a beat. Their women have the most sparkling front teeth because of the abundance of their saliva produced by their bad digestions. They endure drudgery. A Zanj who has been well fed can stand hard beating without feeling pain. No sexual pleasure is to be had from their women's bodies because of their smelly armpits and coarse bodies. (Hunwick and Powell, 2002, pp. 36–37.)

Here, blackness is tied to a range of negative physical and mental characteristics that can only be characterized as racist. Some of these innate traits—ugly, smelly, rhythmic, of bad character, given to running away—easily could have resonated in most nineteenth-century American slave societies. As the Muslim encounter with “black” Africa expanded, so too did a more generalized notion of black inferiority. As such, by the fifteenth century, the well-known Arab historian Ibn Khaldun could unequivocally state: “the Negro nations are, as a rule, submissive to slavery because (Negroes) have little that is (essentially) human and possess attributes that are quite similar to those of dumb animals” (Khaldun, 1967, p. 117).

Although there is clear evidence of race and racism in the early Islamic world, we should not assume that only Africans were singled out for racialization. Nor should we assume that Africans were always the explicit targets of racism. In the Islamic world, the racialized habitus operated to homogenize Arab Muslims as a superior “race.” As such, “white” Christians and Jews could also be subject to forms of racist categorization, based on their innate inferiority. For instance, Muslims knew that “to the north of the civilized lands of Muslim Andalusia, in the mountains of northern Spain and the foothills of the Pyrenees, were wild and primitive Christian peoples called Galicians and Basques” (Lewis, 1982, p. 140). At the same time, there were Muslims who challenged the idea that all blacks were inferior. Indeed, some literature actually asserted black superiority in titles like “The Boast of the Blacks over the Whites” and “Blacks and their superiority over Whites” (Hunwick and Powell, 2002, p. xix). Of course, the irony of these titles is that they were a reaction to the racism that denigrated blackness as an inferior characteristic. By claiming racial superiority over whites, these tracts actually reinforced the racialized habitus that diminished blackness in the first place. Regardless of the attempts at socio-cultural inversion, the racialized habitus was firmly in place. As historian Bernard Lewis has put it:

The...attitude of contempt—toward non-Arabs in general and toward the dark-skinned in particular—is expressed in a thousand ways in the documents, literature, and art that have come down to us from the Islamic Middle Ages... This literature and, especially, popular literature depicts [the black man] in the form of hostile stereotypes—as a demon in fairy tales, as a savage in stories of travel and adventure, or commonly as a lazy, stupid, evil-smelling, and lecherous slave. (Lewis, 1976, pp. 48–49.)

Though Muslims cultivated some new ideas about black inferiority out of their experiences with Africans, they also adopted some from their Greek and Roman predecessors. These ideas drew heavily on climatological and geographic theory that placed Africa in the so-called “torrid” zones, where the sun burned so hot that it created inferior people.⁷ For example, in the fourteenth century a Syrian author wrote:

The equatorial region is inhabited by communities of Blacks who are to be numbered among the savages and beasts. Their complexions and hair are burnt and they are physically and morally deviant. Their brains almost boil from the sun's excessive heat... The human being who dwells there is a crude fellow, with a very black complexion, burnt hair, unruly, with stinking sweat, and an abnormal constitution, most closely resembling in his moral qualities a savage, or animals. He cannot dwell in [other regions] because of the difference in the quality of the air and the heat of the sun. God knows best! (Hunwick and Powell, 2002, p. 35; see also p. xix.)

Ideas about black inferiority were not limited to the Islamic world. Also during the fourteenth century, courses in science and medicine at French universities taught that black people were weak and had short life expectancies because they lived in hot climates. These courses also taught that black women engaged in sex more often than other women because their bodies were hotter.⁸ Though there were very few black people present in France during this period, “race” was still taught as “science.” Anti-black racism had little practical application in France, but “race,” as an explanation for the innate traits of black Africans (as well as for those in the cold, damp, northern regions), was clearly a part of the French matrix of perceptions, even in the fourteenth century.

Far less surprising than the racialized ideas of France were those of Spain and Portugal in the Iberian Peninsula. From the eighth century, Muslims occupied the southern part of the Peninsula, leading to a sustained conflict between Islam and Catholicism. During this period, Spanish and Portuguese Catholics cultivated a racial antipathy toward sub-Saharan Africans that built on already-existing religious tensions. The majority of Africans arrived in Iberia as slaves of their Muslim masters. These Islamic “Moors” were generally understood to be darker than Spanish Catholics, and their black slaves darker still. To this end, Africans represented the other's “Other,” the inferior Muslim's more inferior slave.⁹ From as early as the tenth century, Catholics associated dark skin with danger, impurity, and religious heresy—see, for instance, the writings of the Castilian king, Alfonso X (Alfonso X, 1959). Even when Christians found redeeming features in some Africans, they still could not avoid an overarching assessment of black inferiority. In the middle of the fourteenth century, a Spanish Franciscan friar described the Christians of Nubia and their leader, Prester John: “Preste

Juan [Prester John]...rules over very great lands and many cities of Christians. But they are negros as to their skins...But although these men are Negroes, they are still men of intelligence with good brains, and they have understanding and knowledge" (Anon., 14th c./1912, p. 36). Here, we see what might be interpreted as a positive assessment of blackness; however, a close reading reveals a racialized habitus that assumes an association between blackness and a *lack* of intelligence, understanding, and knowledge. Though Africans were not treated with outright hostility by most Iberian Catholics, the deeper social structures operated to place them in positions of inferiority based on innate traits like skin color.

The Middle Ages were a time of relative racial calm in southern Europe. Just as was the case with Africans, both Moors and Jews were understood to be inferior, but their inferiority was largely tied to their place in the socio-religious order. Unlike Africans and Moors, Jews were integral to the everyday workings of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, as merchants, bankers, and tax collectors. During this time, Jews were on the receiving end of daily insults and humiliations, but according to David Nirenberg, the "systemic" violence committed against them was not an inevitable precursor to the pogroms and expulsions that would occur later. Rather, he sees ritualized insults and acts of violence as ways of maintaining and reinforcing Catholic dominance in the social order, actually controlling more serious outbursts of violence (Nirenberg, 1996). In this period, the most virulent expressions of religious hatred were suppressed, but religious distinctions were maintained through low-grade, ritualized abuse of those who were deemed to be inferior.

By the late fourteenth century, drastic changes in the attitudes of Iberian Catholics transformed the racial landscape. The genesis of what might be called modern racial thought emerged during this period, as human capacity came to be tied explicitly to blood purity. The initial sparks for this heightened racial animus occurred in the middle of the fourteenth century with a serious outbreak of plague that killed hundreds of thousands. Between 1365 and 1378 the population of Catalonia alone dropped from 430,000 to 350,000 (Elliott, 1963, p. 36). Massive population decline led to economic crisis. As a result of this instability, systemic and symbolic violence turned to raw and untrammelled expressions of overt hatred. Catholic priests fanned popular hatred of Jews, blaming them for the Black Death and for the economic crisis that followed. This hatred reached a climax in 1391 when anti-Jewish riots swept across Spain and thousands were massacred.

In the aftermath of the 1391 riots, many Jews converted to Catholicism; so many, in fact, that by the first part of the fifteenth century, some of Spain's largest towns were said to have no Jews at all. Immediately upon taking the baptismal water, these New Christians enjoyed all of the privileges of Old Christians—freedom to have sex with Old Christians, freedom to hold political office, freedom to join religious brotherhoods, and even the freedom to commit abuses against Jews. Because of their remarkable success in converting Jews, Catholics no longer had a clear foil against which to measure the Christian social and religious ideal. According to David Nirenberg, the thorough integration of Jews into Spanish society meant that the foundations of Christian identity and privilege were destabilized. In order to reiterate the distance between Christians and the dwindling numbers of Jews, Catholics sought to sharpen the segregation of the two groups.

Among the ways that Catholics highlighted Jewishness was to render it the antithesis of Christian purity. According to Nirenberg, Christians used Judaism as a cognitive tool for projecting their own hypocrisies. Judaism represented the polar opposite of everything that was pure and Christian. In the Christian conception, Jews were greedy, secular moneylenders. Any Christian who engaged in similar behaviors was in danger of becoming "Judaized." The projection of Christian fears resulted in a racialized Jew that bore little resemblance to "real Jews or real Judaism." Nirenberg argues that these Christian projections "and the hermeneutic they formed did not necessarily require living Jews in order to function. (Of this assertion, late-medieval England and France are clear proof.) But the existence of living Jews, badged, bearded, and circumcised, gave foreign flesh to these negations of the Christian and thereby Christian society's feeling of coherent identity" (Nirenberg, 2003, p. 151). Here, Nirenberg substitutes the word "hermeneutic" for what I am calling "habitus." Either way, he is describing a racialized Judaism, one that exists across Christian Europe, but which gains a particular salience in the Iberian social context, especially in the years between 1391 and 1440.

By the 1440s, Jewish converts, who were variously known as *conversos* (converts) and *marranos* (pigs), became the subject of "blood purity" (*limpieza de sangre*) laws that prohibited anyone of Jewish ancestry from occupying municipal offices, religious brotherhoods, guilds, and so on. The earliest surviving documents that tie Jewish inferiority to lineage come from Toledo. In the aftermath of the 1449 riots that once again saw Jews as a primary target, Spaniards "argued that Jewish ancestry (that is, Jewish blood) conveyed canniness and an unusual talent for enriching oneself at the expense of non-Jews, and predisposed one to corruption and viciousness in positions of power" (Nirenberg, 2002, p. 25). Others claimed that Jews were unnatural, monstrous hybrids that resulted from Adam's mating with animals or the demon Lilith (Nirenberg, 2002, p. 26). The result of these new, virulent expressions of racism was that *conversos* were no longer viewed as "true" Christians. Because of their tainted blood, they were irredeemable and no longer worthy of Christian privileges.

What was new about Spanish racism after the 1440s was the shift from a "hermeneutic," or socially constructed, Jew to one that was essentialized through lineage. The racialized habitus was given teeth in the form of overt discrimination against those who had "Jewish blood." Spaniards took these ideas to extreme ends, on the one hand going to great lengths to prove the "noble," "Spanish," blood purity of government and Church officials, and on the other hand, "Judaizing" socially marginal *conversos* through official instruments of harassment and torture, particularly the Inquisition, established in 1478. Racism was becoming increasingly "materialistic" and very much a part of the modern project of imperial power and dominance.

Even as Jews were becoming more sharply racialized in contradistinction to "pure blooded" Christians, there emerged on the Iberian Peninsula a growing number of Africans whose dark skins represented visual affirmation of tainted blood. By the middle of the

fifteenth century, political stability in Central Europe meant that “Caucasian” slaves (Slavs) and “Turks” were no longer making their way into Mediterranean markets in the same numbers that they once had. As a result, Iberians began to look for other sources of slave labor. The racialized habitus that associated blackness with inferiority, combined with the reality of widespread African slavery and debasement among Muslims in the south of Spain, meant that Africans were “natural” targets of enslavement for Iberian Catholics. Thus, no justification was necessary when the Portuguese first kidnapped and enslaved Africans in 1441, carrying them back to Portugal via the Atlantic. When an explanation was offered, it was couched in the language of race, history, and “nature.” In describing the first eleven Africans brought to Portugal via the Atlantic, royal chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara, explained that they were slaves “in accordance with ancient custom, which I believe to have been because of the curse which after the Deluge, Noah laid on his son Cain [Canaan] cursing him in this way: that his race would be subject to all other races of the world” (Zurara, 1960, pp. 93–94). Black Africans were now a “race” naturally subject to slavery by the indiscretions of the biblical Canaan. The racialized habitus and shifting social conditions that allowed Jews to become the foils for Christian purity also allowed Africans to become the antithesis of white freedom.

Africans continued to be described as “bestial, barbarous, savage, and cunning,” but these traits were increasingly tied to lineage, or blood. While Jews were cast as monstrous half-breeds descended from Adam’s indiscretions with animals and beasts, there were those who doubted Africans’ very membership in the human family. Portuguese royal chronicler Duarte Pacheco Pereira described Africans as similar to dogs in their physical appearance and behavior. He noted, “it remains to know if they are...descended from Adam” (Pereira, 1937, pp. 89, 98, 136). In these renderings, Africans were at the cusp of humanity, or worse, outside of it. The fact that they were marked by blackness only confirmed this “otherness” and was sufficient cause for their degradation. As was the case in the Muslim world, this blackness quickly became the archetype for servitude, a condition that only exacerbated previous understandings of black inferiority.

By the end of the fifteenth century, the terms “Negro” and “slave” were essentially synonymous on the Iberian Peninsula. In Castile, the king’s slaves were known simply as “His Majesty’s Negroes” (Stella, 2000, p. 86). And in Portugal, slave occupations were delineated by the term “Negro”—as in “negro do pote” [water carrier] or “negra canastra” [waste remover] (Tinhorão, 1988, p. 89; Saunders, 1982, pp. 75, 77). By the sixteenth century, African slaves could be found in a range of occupations across Iberia. Though most were employed in urban areas—as body servants, skilled apprentices, etc.—a significant number worked in agriculture. In some regions, such as the Portuguese Algarve, the majority of slaves worked on farms and vineyards (Fonseca, 2002, pp. 36, 77–92). During the same period in the late 1400s and early 1500s, African slave labor became synonymous with sugar production in the Iberian-Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Azores, the Canary Islands, Cape Verde, and São Tomé. Though the plantation system that would come to characterize the Americas was not yet perfected, the basic foundations for large-scale sugar production, based on African slave labor, were well in place, as were the racial attitudes and ideas that supported this system. Given the rapid advances in navigation and the racialized habitus of Europeans, it was only a matter of time before this system proliferated across the Atlantic world.

Atlantic expansion of racial ideas

When Christopher Columbus arrived in the Caribbean in 1492, he carried with him an acute understanding of the racialized habitus that dictated Spanish society. Thus, he described the first indigenous peoples he encountered as “the color of Canarians, neither black nor white” (Columbus, 1985, p. 91). Columbus’s description makes clear that the Indians were not black like Africans, but neither were they white like Spaniards. Rather, they were the color of Canarians, who themselves had only recently been conquered and enslaved by the Spanish. The connection between skin color and servitude is made clearer when, in the same journal entry, Columbus writes that the natives would make “good servants.” Indians were quickly enslaved and became the objects of racial scorn. However, unlike African slavery, Indian slavery was roundly criticized. In the first decades of the sixteenth century, Dominican priest Bartolomé de Las Casas chastised his countrymen for their inhumane treatment of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Mounting humanitarian pressure by Catholic priests, coupled with the severe decline in the Indian population, led the Spanish Crown to abolish Indian slavery in 1542. Despite this, Indians would remain in subordinate, racialized positions in the American colonial hierarchy for many years to come (Nazzari, 2001, pp. 497–524; Chaplin, 1997, pp. 229–52).

Partly as an answer to the rapid demographic decline of Indian laborers and partly as a continuation of past practices in Iberia, the Spanish began sending African slaves to Hispaniola in 1502. Between then and 1619, more than three hundred thousand Africans were transported to the Americas as slaves, most of them destined for the mines of Mexico and Peru, as well as for the sugar plantations of Brazil. During this period of expansion, other European nations began infringing on Spain and Portugal’s claims in Africa and the Americas. In particular, English traders and privateers saw the potential to tap the wealth of the slave trade. As such, they forged alliances with Spanish and Portuguese seamen who could instruct them on the intricacies of navigation and trade. For example, a Portuguese pilot, Anthony Anes Pinteado, was the inspiration for Thomas Wyndham’s first journey to Guinea in 1553, persuading the English to undertake the voyage and actually piloting one of Wyndham’s ships (Hakluyt, 1598/1903-05, vol. 6, pp. 148, 152). Likewise, when John Hawkins delivered three hundred African slaves to Hispaniola in 1562, he relied on the expertise of his Spanish pilot, Juan Martínez (Kelsey, 2003, pp. 14–15).

While Iberians were instrumental in introducing the English to the wider Atlantic world and the African slave trade, they also helped the English build on their already-existing ideas about black inferiority. The racialized habitus of the English, prior to direct involvement in the slave trade, can be seen in various sources. Many of these were based on the geographical and climatological literature that originated in the ancient world, although by the 1540s some English authors were familiar with racial slavery in

southern Europe. For example, in his 1547 account of Barbary, Andrew Borde noted that there were “whyte mores and black moors.” The “black moors,” in particular, were taken to Christian countries where they “do al maner of service but thei be set most comonli to vile thynges.” Borde noted that these slaves had “gret lyppes, and nottyd heare, black and curled...and there is nothing white but their teth and the white of the eye” (Borde, 1547/1870, p. 212). By the 1570s, blacks could be found scattered across England, mostly in subordinate positions as domestic servants, prostitutes, or entertainers (Fryer, 1984, p. 8). By the turn of the seventeenth century, slave traders and privateers had delivered so many Africans to England that Queen Elizabeth I attempted to expel them. In 1601, she wrote that she was “highly discontented to understand the great numbers of negars and Blackamoors which...are crept into this realm since the troubles between Her Highness and the King of Spain who are fostered and relieved [i.e. fed] to the great annoyance of her own liege people, that want the relief [i.e. food], which those people consume, as also for that the most of them are infidels, having no understanding of Christ or his Gospel” (Fryer, 1984, p. 12). Here, “negars and Blackamoors” creep into England and are singled out for expulsion, based on their consumption of “English” resources and their presumed religious infidelity. “Negars and Blackamoors” are juxtaposed against English “liege people,” implicitly racializing and nationalizing blackness. Just as in Iberia, once blackness ceased to be hermeneutic and black bodies actually arrived in England in discernible numbers, racism almost instantly became more overt.

After 1600, anti-black racism was an intrinsic part of the European colonial endeavor, and the racialized habitus, which most often took the form of white supremacy, was firmly entrenched in the Atlantic world. Though there were fundamental differences that divided “Europe,” Europeans were unified in their collective superiority to Africans. Just as was the case with the Christian representation of Judaism in fifteenth-century Spain, Africa was represented as the antithesis of everything “pure” and “civilized” about Europe. As William Cohen has remarked:

Africa served Europeans as a convenient mirror...onto which they projected their own fears about themselves and their world. The encounter with Africa in the seventeenth century occurred in an era that emphasized order, self-discipline, self-abnegation, sexual restraint, and Christianity. These were difficult ideals. The Europeans’ failure to realize these lofty goals, or even their temptations to deny them, created serious inner tensions to which the contact with Africa gave an emotional release...[Europeans] were constrained by law and convention to act in a certain manner, but their fantasies tempted them to doubt their civilized humanity and revealed instead their own animality...The African could thus be depicted as animalistic, sexually lustful, lazy, and religiously unregenerate. (Cohen, 1980, pp. 33–34.)

These shared ideas about the inferiority of Africans resulted in a common racial order that penetrated the deepest crevices of the Atlantic world, marking power relations on all four continents.

The idea of white superiority even penetrated into Africa itself. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the netherworld of the so-called “Atlantic Creoles.” Recent scholarship has suggested that these multi-cultural, multi-racial peoples of the Atlantic rim lived their daily lives in ways that defied the racial order that would come later. Perhaps the best example of this multi-racial world comes from Senegambia. A number of scholars have pointed to Senegambia’s Luso-Africans as a prime example of racial fluidity in the early Atlantic world.¹⁰ These conclusions are drawn in part from the writings of Richard Jobson:

I must...acquainte you...of another sort of people we finde dwelling, or rather lurking, amongst these Mandingos... . And these are, as they call themselves, Portingales, and some few of them seeme the same; others of them are Molatoes...but the most part as blacke, as the naturall inhabitants... . They have amongst them, neither Church, nor Frier, nor any other religious order... . They do generally employ themselves in buying...commodities...still reserving carefully, the use of the Portingall tongue, and with a kinde of affectionate zeale, the name of Christian, taking it in a great disdain, be they never so blacke, to be called a Negro. (Jobson, 1623/1968, pp. 28–30.)

Most scholars interpret Jobson’s comments as evidence of a world that could not possibly anticipate the racial order that would come later. Here, phenotypically black Africans staked a claim to some form of Portuguese language, culture, and religion, even calling themselves “Portuguese.” While these Luso-Africans convolute the racial hierarchy to which we are most accustomed, they most surely did not transform the habitus of white supremacy. Indeed, Luso-Africans constructed themselves “Portuguese” precisely because this set them apart from the enslaveable, heathen, black masses that formed the majority of the population. This rejection of their blackness resulted from a keen understanding of the racial matrix in which they operated. To be a “Negro” was to be a slave. “Portuguese” identity endowed Luso-Africans with qualities that suggested social, cultural, and economic power. Still, as Jobson’s scornful commentary suggests, Europeans did not distinguish the blackness of Luso-Africans from the blackness of the masses. From their perspective, Luso-Africans were just as black (and enslaveable) as other Africans. In this way, race could impose itself on Luso-Africans in ways that defied their consciousness as free “Portuguese.” Historical actors could often confound the racialized habitus in interesting ways, but they could never erase its deeper structural dispositions. To this end, Bourdieu has noted that “agents do construct their vision of the world. But this construction is carried out under structural constraints” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 130).

The era of emancipation and the construction of racial science

By the late eighteenth century, the emergence of a new racial science marked yet another shift in the articulation of racism, one that coincided with important social and historical changes. Just as with the shift from the hermeneutic Jew or hermeneutic African in the forging of the Atlantic world, the social conditions of the “Era of Emancipation” brought forth new modes of explaining white superiority. From the American Revolution moving forward for roughly a hundred years, a new ethos of individual rights and

freedoms seemed to contradict the very basis of racial slavery. Yet racism continued unabated. As the rationalism of the Enlightenment took root and “science” became the preferred way of understanding and interpreting the world, old biological notions about the inferiority of black peoples were inscribed onto “new” fields of knowledge. Ironically, there was little “new” in the “science” of race; indeed, the ideas themselves were simply old wine in new bottles. However, the emergence of science as a discipline of “truth” rendered these categories more stable and more durable than they ever had been before.

The beginnings of modern racial “science” can be traced to the system of human classification created in 1735 by the Swedish botanist, Carolus Linnaeus, in his *Systema Naturae* (Linnaeus, 1735). Linnaeus understood that all humans were members of the same species, that is, descended from a common ancestry and capable of reproduction across group boundaries. But it was his definitions of these groups, or “varieties,” of the genus “Homo” that invoked new understandings of race. For Linnaeus, there were six basic human varieties—Europeaeus, Americanus, Asiaticus, Afer (African), Ferus, and Monstrosus. The latter varieties included dwarves, giants, genetic mutants, and “wild men,” who were hairy, mute, and generally without reason. The other four categories were much more focused on associations between phenotype and behavior. For example, Europeaeus were “white, sanguine, muscular; hair long flowing; eyes blue; gentle, acute, inventive; covered with close vestments; governed by laws.” Meanwhile, Africanus were “black, phlegmatic, relaxed; hair black, frizzled; skin silky; nose flat; lips tumid; women without shame, they lactate profusely; crafty, indolent, negligent; anoints himself with grease; governed by caprice” (Smedley, 1993, p. 164).

By the late eighteenth century, Linnaeus’s disciple, Johann Blumenbach, refined these categories somewhat. Like Linnaeus, Blumenbach was a firm believer in the unity of humanity. An ardent abolitionist, he not only argued for the moral superiority of African slaves over their European captors, he also championed black intellectual achievement, noting that the literature, poetry, and philosophy of African-descended writers was superior to that in much of Europe. Blumenbach even became a collector of black bibliophilia, creating a library in his house especially for this purpose.

Though Blumenbach’s motives were no doubt pure, his responses to white supremacy reified the structures of the racial habitus. Indeed, Blumenbach himself was an unwitting victim of this structure. In his scientific approach, Blumenbach built on already-existing ideas about skin color by comparing the skulls of various peoples. In the resulting classificatory scheme, there were five groups—Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. For Blumenbach, Caucasians had “the most beautiful form of skull, from which, as from a mean and primeval type, the others diverge by most easy gradations... Besides, it is white in color, which we may fairly assume to have been the primitive color of mankind, since...it is very easy for that to degenerate into brown, but very much more difficult for dark to become white” (Gould, 1994, p. 64). Though Blumenbach concentrates on phenotypical beauty in his system of rank—ignoring intelligence, behavior, and so on—he still sees dark skin as a “degenerative” condition. Moreover, he assumes that humanity “diverged” from its original purity of whiteness. This scientific process of “degeneration,” combined with a classificatory system that saw “whiteness” as the original archetype, spoke to a much broader black inferiority, regardless of Blumenbach’s intentions. Given the social and racial order of the day, it should come as no surprise that others utilized Blumenbach’s system of classification as an explanation for black inferiority. Ultimately, Blumenbach and his science were as trapped in the matrix of white supremacy as the most virulent American slaveholder.

The deepest irony of racial pseudo-science is that it emerged precisely during the period of enlightenment, emancipation, and revolution. Even as European philosophers were extolling the virtues of individual liberties and freedoms against the tyranny of the few, scientists were busy creating categories that reinforced age-old ideas that connected physical traits to mental and moral capacity. At first glance, this may seem contradictory; however, implicit in enlightenment ideology was the need to rationalize and explain the universe. Blacks had been seen as inferior since at least the fifteenth century. Indeed, slavery was seen as their “natural” condition. The science of race simply reflected popular notions about blacks’ moral laxness, their incapacity for governance, and so on. In this way, science became a tool for legitimizing slavery and black racial inferiority. Thus, when Thomas Jefferson wrote “all men are created equal,” it was well understood that blacks were not full-fledged “men.” Liberty and equality were the preserve of those who could shoulder the immense responsibility that came with them. Since blacks were believed to be incapable of reason, let alone government, they were implicitly excluded from these privileges.

The *ipso facto* exclusion of blacks from the fruits of the Enlightenment is yet one more indication of the structural entrenchment of a racialized order. There was very little outright debate over whether blacks deserved the same rights and privileges as white men; black inferiority was simply assumed. The structures of the racialized habitus precluded whites from considering the possibility of black equality; the proposition was simply unfathomable. Even when burned by the fires of their own idealism, as was the case with the Haitian Revolution (1791), whites (and mulattoes) could never bring themselves to recognize the slaves’ actions as either rational or enlightened. Granted, whites were shaped by their class interests, but there was a more generalized fear that the untamed black masses would mete out “justice” and “governance” in ways that raped, maimed, and killed white people. In short, whites also feared racialized “savagery” and the revenge it might exact on them.

In the United States, this fear of black “savagery” ultimately became the glue that held together the Union in the aftermath of the Civil War. Though the nation flirted with the promise of political equality in the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment (1870), the experiment with voting rights and the election of black politicians did very little to transform the racialized social order. In particular, most blacks were still dependent on their former masters for economic survival. Owning only their labor, most rural black families were forced into sharecropping and debt peonage. Meanwhile, white Southerners used extralegal means to prevent blacks from asserting their right to vote. As early as 1866 the Ku Klux Klan was organized in Tennessee with the explicit aim of maintaining white supremacy. Blacks and their white Republican allies were beaten, harassed, and murdered, often under cover of night and with the

tacit approval of local governments and law enforcement. In addition to the Klan, local vigilante groups and even state militias were effective tools in terrorizing black Southerners and their small numbers of white supporters.

As political divisions sharpened over the implementation of Reconstruction legislation, Northern Republicans began to lose interest in a “black problem” that seemed increasingly distant from the needs of the nation. Not only were there very few blacks in the North; the imperative to punish the South for its Civil War transgressions was quickly fading. By 1876, the electorate was deeply divided. The presidential election was so closely contested that a winner, Rutherford B. Hayes, was declared only after a compromise was reached between Democrats and Republicans. In exchange for the presidency, Southern Democrats were guaranteed the restoration of regional autonomy and states’ rights. Thus, the Compromise of 1877 set the stage upon which Jim Crow would thrive, as equality for African Americans was sacrificed on the altar of national unity.

After 1877, Southern legislatures methodically chipped away at the gains made during the Reconstruction era. Among the first Jim Crow laws were those related to public accommodations and facilities. African Americans were forced into segregated “nigger cars” on trains and were relegated to “blacks only” sections in restaurants, bars, theaters, and so on. African Americans were also systematically removed from the voting rolls in most Southern states. In order to vote, blacks were forced to demonstrate long-term residency, literacy, and/or mastery of state laws and constitutions. Though these laws also purportedly applied to whites, they were enforced only against blacks. In a series of Supreme Court decisions in the 1880s and 1890s, the federal judiciary offered its support of these and other Jim Crow laws. What had once been “customary” discrimination and segregation was now formally codified, protecting the world of white supremacy that had existed in the South since the colonial period.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century and moving forward into the twentieth, Jim Crow walked hand-in-hand with extraordinary racial violence. For those African Americans who violated Jim Crow laws or breached the social contract of deference toward whites, mob violence, lynching, and murder were often the response. In Wilmington (1898), New Orleans (1900), and Atlanta (1906) white mobs destroyed black-owned property and killed dozens of people. This mob violence was not limited to the South. In 1919 white gangs attacked blacks in 25 cities and towns across the United States, including Chicago and Washington, DC, and in 1921 the black neighborhood known as Little Africa was destroyed in Tulsa, Oklahoma; 200 African Americans were murdered (Palmer, 1998, pp. 113–21).

Like dozens of other instances of racial violence, the trigger for the Tulsa slaughter was the false rumor of a black man assaulting a white woman. In these circumstances, white venom normally was unleashed in the form of a lynch mob. Between 1880 and 1930 more than three thousand blacks were lynched in the American South (Brundage, 1993, p. 8). These lynchings were committed for ostensible offenses as petty as failing to cede way on a sidewalk to a white person, or “sassing” a white person. But the most brutal tortures were reserved for those accused of rape. In Mississippi, “Negro Barbeques” were a common response to accusations that a black man had committed a sexual crime against a white woman. These public burnings were carried out before gleeful and frenzied audiences of white spectators, who often left the executions with charred souvenirs—bones, fingers, ears, toes—taken from the victim (McMillen, 1990, pp. 233–37).

The fear of the “black beast” rapist that swept the South was almost entirely unfounded; indeed, many of the accusations were quickly revealed to be false. As Ida B. Wells-Barnett and others showed, where there were sexual relationships between black men and white women, these relationships were almost always consensual.¹¹ White women, some of them prostitutes, betrayed their black lovers out of fear, spite, and/or cowardice. Meanwhile, white men sexually assaulted black women with no fear of legal or social reprisals. This warping of social reality was reinforced in new pseudo-scientific ideas about blackness and aberrant sexuality. Black men were believed to be savages with untamed sexual appetites, while white women represented the height of chastity and purity. The purity of white womanhood was to be protected at all costs, especially against beast rapists.

Ideas about the purity of white womanhood and the bestiality of black males did not emerge in a vacuum. The system of “scientific” classification that concretized popularly held understandings of “blackness” also created “new” categories of gender and sexuality. At its core, the science of human classification was aimed at marking and distinguishing difference. One of the key elements that always marked blackness was the perceived hyper-sexuality of African peoples. During the nineteenth century, black bodies, and especially black women’s bodies, were studied extensively to determine sources of this sexual difference. Upon finding that black women had larger buttocks and a more pronounced clitoris than “normal” women, scientists determined that they were sexually “inverted” in the same ways that female homosexuals were. As scientists began questioning the normalcy of black women, their very gender was called into doubt. This scientific erasure of black womanhood went a long way toward explaining their hyper-sexuality, as well as their propensity to work like men. True womanhood was exemplified only in the cloistered, chaste purity of whiteness, a whiteness that was also marked by what were regarded as normal genitals. In this way, scientific categories of race dovetailed closely with those of gender and sexuality, an intersection that still remains relatively unexplored (Somerville, 1994).

Eventually, the measurement of body parts—genitals, arms, legs, skulls, etc.—became the preferred scientific method for understanding the links between physical traits and mental capacity. At its most basic level, anthropometry simply reinforced existing ideas about black inferiority. For instance, the measurement of skulls indicated that the African cranium was much smaller than the European one, thereby suggesting a brain capacity closer to that of apes. From these studies, scientists concluded that blacks were intellectually inferior to whites and therefore better suited to physical labor.

More complex typologies linked various arrays of physical traits to disease, mental illness, criminality, and other forms of degeneracy.

Much of this thinking was inspired by the work of Italian scientist Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909), whose books *Delinquent Man* (Lombroso, 1878) and *Criminal Man* (Lombroso, 1895), defined the field. These typologies were taught in the curricula of law schools and medical schools across the Atlantic world. Blacks, mulattoes, and mestizos often formed the most degenerate criminal types and were understood to have predispositions to a range of illnesses and criminal behaviors. In places such as Cuba and Brazil, racial mixing was believed to have produced widespread degeneracy that could only be addressed through eugenics. State policies encouraged the integration of whites with mulattoes and mestizos in an effort to whiten the population and rid the countries of impure elements.¹² Just as in countries where race was embedded in the very formation of the nation-state (for example, the United States, South Africa), the *denial* of race (“racial democracy,” *mestizaje*) was integral to the formation of many Latin American states.¹³

In the United States, ideas about body types were no less pernicious. During the 1930s, Harvard anthropologist Earnest A. Hooton conducted studies on thousands of criminals and non-criminal civilians, determining that the criminal body was inferior in nearly every conceivable way. Like other scientists, Hooton found that black traits often adhered to deficient types. For example, he argued that the Negroid forehead was a perfect example of a criminal forehead.¹⁴ While many of these studies confirmed black inferiority, they were also utilized to provide a scientific basis for white superiority. From the 1930s to the 1960s, entering freshmen at most Ivy League and Seven Sisters schools were required to pose nude for “posture photographs.” Ostensibly, these photographs were used for medical purposes, particularly to screen incoming students for deficiencies in posture. Unbeknownst to the thousands of young men and women who were forced to pose for the photos, they were part of a massive anthropological study. In an attempt to understand the sources of intelligence, strength, and success of the country’s best and brightest young people, scientists like William Sheldon used the photos to measure and analyze their body types.¹⁵

The majority of these studies that linked body types to intellectual and moral capacity were conducted in the years immediately prior to the Holocaust. In Europe, these studies were used to prove the inferiority of Jews and were the platform for the experiments and atrocities committed by the Nazis in concentration camps across Europe during World War II (1939–1945). As the horrors of the Holocaust became manifest, anthropometry and somatotype theories quickly fell out of favor, although echoes of this racial science can still be heard, especially in the controversial intelligence studies of the last decade. In particular, Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein’s *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (Herrnstein and Murray, 1994), which argues that genetic factors contribute to the fact that blacks score lower on IQ tests than whites, provoked a widespread outcry, especially in intellectual circles.¹⁶ That the debate remained largely confined to university campuses and the pages of the *New York Times* is at least one indication of how disaffected the majority of Americans are with such topics. It is also an indication of a persistent stream in American thought that simply assumes black inferiority. At bottom, studies of body types, facial features, and other forms of racial science simply confirmed what was common knowledge from as early as the fifteenth century: black people were morally and intellectually inferior to white people. In this way, science has been a most useful tool in perpetuating much deeper notions of the truth, ones that are beyond empirical extrication and at the core of the modern Western habitus.

The declining significance of race?

Since the end of World War II, and particularly in the aftermath of anti-colonial and civil rights movements around the world in the 1950s and 1960s, expressions of race and racism have undergone significant transformations. Explicit pronouncements of inferior and superior races are no longer as palatable as they once were. In the United States and South Africa, for example, state-sanctioned racial hierarchy and black exclusion gave way to full legal equality for all citizens (1964 Civil Rights Act; 1965 Voting Rights Act), regardless of race. As the old legal barriers came tumbling down, some people proclaimed that race was on its deathbed. In 1978, sociologist William Julius Wilson wrote:

Now the life chances of individual blacks have more to do with their economic class position than with their day to day encounters with whites. As the nation has entered the latter half of the twentieth century...many of the traditional barriers have crumbled under the weight of the political, social, and economic changes of the civil rights era. A new set of obstacles has emerged from structural shifts in the economy... Specifically, whereas the previous barriers were usually designed to control and restrict the entire black population, the new barriers create hardships essentially for the black underclass; whereas the old barriers were based explicitly on racial motivations...the new barriers have racial significance only in their consequences, not in their origins. (Wilson, 1978, pp. 1–2.)

Wilson’s book provoked a flurry of responses that challenged his central thesis. While nearly all scholars admit that the gains of the Civil Rights Movement were significant, many argue that race remains a significant factor of inequality in America. Though race operates more subtly and in more complex ways than it did in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the racial hierarchy that degrades blackness remains firmly entrenched. At the most basic level, sociologists have consistently found that African Americans, including those in the middle and upper economic classes, enjoy a far lower quality of life than white Americans. This quality of life quotient includes self-assessments of general happiness, marital happiness, general mistrust, and overall physical health. Thus, even with the removal of legal and economic impediments, African Americans are still less happy than their white counterparts (Hughes and Thomas, 1998, pp. 785–95).

On more substantive issues, blacks continue to be discriminated against in loan approvals, job markets, education, housing, law enforcement, and medical care. Often times, these forms of discrimination are difficult to prove and therefore largely unassailable at the legal level. Job applications are rejected because of “lack of experience” (Reskin, 2000, pp. 319–29). Apartments are denied because “there are none left to lease” (Massey and Denton, 1993). And the police detain young men because they are “acting

suspiciously” (Kennedy, 1997). That blacks are disproportionately among those who experience these indignities may appear, on the surface, to be nothing more than *de facto* discrimination. But in fact, it is *de jure* racism. Whether consciously or unconsciously, people continue to be shaped by the age-old system of racial stratification that views blackness as dirty, criminal, and intellectually inferior. Though the social structure of race and racism has changed in important ways in the last fifty years, the racialized habitus, and the hierarchy it creates, remain well intact. The fact that these behaviors often operate below the level of consciousness does not diminish their corrosive effects. Indeed, the belief that racism has been beaten back, in the face of overwhelming quantitative evidence to the contrary, could ultimately prove to be as harmful as open, bald-faced state-sanctioned racism. One needs only look at the desperate inequalities of the so-called racial democracies of Latin America and the Caribbean to see the potential pitfalls of ignoring the racialized structure.

Another way that the US racial hierarchy has been confounded in recent years is through the massive influx of immigrants from Asia and Latin America. In the last three decades, some thirty million immigrants have poured into the United States, the majority of them from Asia and Latin America. According to the US Census Bureau, Latinos now outnumber African Americans (2002), and Asians are the fastest-growing segment of the US population, nearly doubling in size in each of the last two censuses. There have been vigorous debates over how these new immigrants fit into the American racial matrix. In some quarters there has been a tendency to force Latinos and Asian Americans into the old black/white binary. In these renderings, Asian Americans are almost always seen as like whites, either by virtue of their ability to take advantage of community capital and resources, or because of their tendency to overtake core sectors of urban economies that were once the preserve of African Americans.¹⁷ The view of Latinos is less consistent. In some instances, they are lumped together with Asian Americans because of their white phenotypes, European heritage, and roles in displacing African Americans in many urban economies (Hacker, 1992; Steinberg, 1995). In other cases, Latinos are seen as more like blacks because of their tendency to arrive in the United States with limited education and job skills (Wilson, 1987).

The inconsistencies in these approaches have prompted some to insist that Latinos and Asian Americans be treated as distinct racial groups. Proponents of this approach claim that the black/white racial binary does not account for the distinct racial histories of Latinos, Asians, and other groups in various parts of the United States. Nor does it account for the varying relations between these groups and whites/blacks. For example, the history of Anglo/African-American/Cuban/Haitian relations in Miami has a very different trajectory than the history of Anglo/African-American/Latino/Korean relations in Los Angeles, or Anglo/African-American/Native American/Latino relations in North Carolina.

The idea of a multi-racial America has also gained traction in popular youth culture (hip hop), and even in the mainstream media. In September 2000, *Newsweek Magazine* ran a cover story and extended special report on the topic “Redefining Race in America.” In the introductory article, author Jon Meacham wrote, “Every day, in every corner of America, we are redrawing the color lines and redefining what race really means. It’s not just a matter of black and white anymore; the nuances of brown and yellow and red mean more—and less—than ever” (Meacham, 2000, p. 38).

While the calls for multi-racialism should be heeded, we must not assume that the old racial hierarchy has simply disappeared. Even as new spaces are created in the American racial order, the old binary still operates as the basic template into which these new groups assert themselves. The fundamental character of blackness and whiteness has not changed. Immigrants often arrive in the United States with preconceived understandings of the American racial order. Through movies, television, music, and so on, they come to understand the inferiority of blackness even before they arrive on American shores. Thus, they consciously strive to distance themselves from blackness. Even among the poorest immigrants, the familiar refrain, “Well at least we’re not niggers,” still has resonance in America.¹⁸ Meanwhile, whites tend to measure and assess new immigrants through the familiar filter of the black/white binary. For instance, commenting on Mexican and Central American immigrants to his hometown, one white North Carolinian noted, “The tacos are worse than the niggers” (LeDuff, 2000).

The persistence of the black/white binary has a profound impact on some immigrants, particularly those from the Caribbean. Those immigrants who come from places where phenotypical blackness is common—Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and so on—often find their racial identities challenged in the United States. Where they once considered themselves “mulatto,” “Indian,” or simply “Cuban” in their homelands, they are treated as “black” when they arrive in the United States. The reactions to this stigmatization vary. For instance, Dominicans historically have rejected the black label because of its connotations with Haiti.¹⁹ Even in the United States, dark-skinned Dominicans identify as Latino or even white, distancing themselves from African Americans. Other dark-skinned Latinos, including second-generation Dominicans, find that the discriminatory treatment they receive as black people in America forces them to adopt black identities and ally themselves with African Americans (Duany, 1998; Ojito, 2000). Though contextually different, all of these cases demonstrate the structural rigidity of assumed black inferiority. Immigration and multi-racialism have done little to transform these understandings, at least not to this point.

Ironically, even as the United States slowly moves toward a multi-racial solution, places like Brazil seem to be adopting a binary model similar to that of the pre-Civil Rights era in the United States. Brazil, which has the world’s second-largest black population after Nigeria, has been known historically for its racial tolerance. But since the end of military rule in the 1980s, the Brazilian government, prodded by Afro-Brazilian activists, has become critical of the idea of racial democracy. According to supporters of the racial democracy concept, black marginalization is nothing more than a legacy of slavery and subsequent class discrimination. The absence of state-sponsored segregation, combined with a long history of racial mixture, supposedly makes Brazil immune to the corrosive binary system that characterized the United States. The paradox of this formulation is that racial democracy was itself a historical response to blackness. By first trying to erase blackness through “whitening” schemes, and then denying that blackness

mattered, Brazilians could ignore the stark realities of a racial structure that slighted dark-skinned people in their daily lives and kept them at the bottom of the social order.

Despite roughly a hundred years of racial democracy in Brazil, the social gap between blacks and whites remains stark. Since the 1980s, activists, academics, government, and international forces have slowly recast Brazil's color scheme to one that adheres more closely to a binary racial scheme. Recognizing that blacks (*pretos*) and browns (*pardos*, mulattoes, and even some *morenos*) generally share the same miserable fates in education, income, housing, and health care, Brazilians have concluded that racial democracy actually obscures racial hierarchy, facilitating discrimination against black people. In order to remedy this discrimination, the government recently has instituted a policy of affirmative action that imposes racial quotas (2001) on hiring in state agencies and in university admissions.²⁰

It remains to be seen whether Brazil's experiment with American-style affirmative action will bring desired results; however, Brazil's tacit admission of defeat in combating its social ills through multi-racialism should send a strong signal to those in the United States who are calling for a new racial paradigm. The legal barriers of the pre-Civil Rights era have tumbled, but the deeper structures of racial stratification have not. Increased immigration and miscegenation have complicated the American racial order, but they have not transformed the social structure that privileges whiteness and degrades blackness. That race is increasingly articulated "below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny and control by the will" does not mean that racism has disappeared. Nor does it mean that formal, legal barriers to integration/assimilation cannot be resurrected.²¹ The sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva has argued that we must fight the color-blind logic that seems to be sweeping American popular and academic thought. A failure to remain vigilant against systemic racial stratification would result in the kinds of silences that have allowed gross racial inequalities in places like Brazil.²² Only by breaking through these silent, unconscious structures of white power and destroying the racial order can there be truly meaningful transformation.

Endnotes

¹ For a more detailed analysis of the biology of race, see the "AAPA Statement on Biological Aspects of Race" (American Association of Physical Anthropologists, 1996); the "AAA Statement on Race" (Association of American Anthropologists, 1998); Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's "Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation" (Bonilla-Silva, 1997); J. S. Jones's "How Different are Human Races?" (Jones, 1981); and Alan Templeton's "Human Races: A Genetic and Evolutionary Perspective" (Templeton, 1998). For a suggestion that race may yet have biological properties, see Bernard Boxill's introduction to his *Race and Racism* (Boxill, 2001), where he argues that although the biology of race, as currently utilized, is flawed, this does not preclude the possibility that there are "real" biological differences that might be classified as "race."

² The "racialized habitus" that I am positing here can be fruitfully compared to the "gendered habitus" of historical agents — see Beate Kraus's "Gender and Symbolic Violence: Female Oppression in the Light of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Social Practice" (Kraus, 1993).

³ The idea of "habitus" and its relationship to practice is spelled out brilliantly in Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Bourdieu, 1977).

⁴ These ideas emanate from Aristotelian thought — see Benjamin Isaac's *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Isaac, 2004, p. 151).

⁵ After the year 700, anywhere from one thousand to six thousand slaves were carried yearly across the Sahara to North Africa and eastward (Austen, 1979, pp. 23–76).

⁶ See, for instance, the descriptions of Ibn Battuta (Battuta, 1975, pp. 23, 32, 56, 58).

⁷ Perhaps the most influential of the climate/geography explanations was that of Hippocrates, as seen in his *Ancient Medicine – Airs, Waters, and Places* (Hippocrates, 1923/1995).

⁸ See the ongoing research of Peter Biller. Preliminary findings can be found in his "The Black in Medieval Science: What Significance?" (Biller, 2003).

⁹ For a more detailed articulation of this argument see James Sweet's "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought" (Sweet, 1997).

¹⁰ See, for instance, Peter Mark's "*Portuguese*" *Style and Luso-African Identity* (Mark, 2002). For a more generalized discussion of so-called Atlantic Creoles, see Ira Berlin's "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America" (Berlin, 1996).

¹¹ On Ida B. Wells-Barnett's critique and inversion of the Southern lynching scenario as it related to race and gender, see Gail Bederman's *Manliness and Civilization* (Bederman, 1995, pp. 45–76).

¹² For Brazil, see Lilia Moritz Schwarcz' *The Spectacle of the Races* (Schwarcz, 1999) and Carlos Antonio Costa Ribeiro's *Cor e criminalidade* (Ribeiro, 1995). For Cuba, see Alejandra Bronfman's *Measures of Equality* (Bronfman, 2004).

¹³ Examples of how race shaped nation building in the United States and South Africa can be found in Ran Greenstein's "Racial Formation: Towards a Comparative Study of Collective Identities in South Africa and the United States" (Greenstein, 1993), and Anthony W. Marx's "Race-Making and the Nation State" (Marx, 1996). For Latin America, see Alejandro de la Fuente's "Race, National Discourse, and Politics in Cuba: An Overview" (de la Fuente, 1998), and Alan Knight's "Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910–1940" (Knight, 1990).

¹⁴ For Hooton's treatment of the criminality of blacks see his *Crime and the Man* (Hooton, 1939/1968).

¹⁵ For a somewhat sensationalized version of the use of posture photos, see Ron Rosenbaum's "The Great Ivy League Nude Posture Photo Scandal" Rosenbaum, 1995, pp. 26–56.

¹⁶ For an even more strident view of the connection between race and intelligence, see Michael Levin's *Why Race Matters: Race Differences and What They Mean*, (Levin, 1997).

¹⁷ On Asian Americans as "white" middle-class technophiles, see Andrew Hacker's *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal* (Hacker, 1992), and William J. Wilson's *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Wilson, 1987); and on their usurpation of African American jobs and wages in the inner cities, see Stephen Steinberg's *Turning Back: The Retreat From Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy* (Steinberg, 1995).

¹⁸ On the shaping of Korean attitudes toward blacks, see Nancy Abelmann and John Lie's *Blue Dreams: Korean Americans and the Los Angeles Riots* (Abelman and Lie, 1995). For "white" Cuban attitudes, see Mirta Ojito's "Best of Friends, Worlds Apart" (Ojito, 2000).

¹⁹ On Dominican anti-Haitianism, see Ernesto Sagás's *Race and Politics in the Dominican Republic* (Sagás, 2000).

²⁰ For a general accounting of the disparities between blacks and whites in Brazil, and for an elaboration of Brazil's shift from racial democracy to affirmative action, see Mala Htun's "From 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil" (Htun, 2004).

²¹ For the relationship of individual perceptions of barriers to assimilation and the actual historical contingency of these barriers, see the brilliant historical study by Leo Spitzer, *Lives In Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil, West Africa, 1780–1945*, (Spitzer, 1989).

²² For a strong critique of the color-blind trend, see Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's *Racism Without Racists* (Bonilla-Silva, 2003); a structural solution to understanding race can be found in his "Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation" (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). The silences that plague racial discourse in Brazil are examined in Robin E. Sheriff's *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race and Racism in Urban Brazil* (Sherrif, 2001).

Multimedia

Slave inspection, 1750.



Image copyright © Getty Images

This print from about 1750 depicts whites at a West African slave market. In the eighteenth century, most of the slave traders were British, Portuguese, and French. They traded consumer items and arms for slaves, most of whom were captured in wars and fell into the hands of the suppliers who operated along the West Coast of Africa. Of the slaves transported across the Atlantic in the eighteenth century, about one quarter went to Brazil; about 10 percent went to North America; and the rest went to South America and the Caribbean.

Slave traders, 1835.

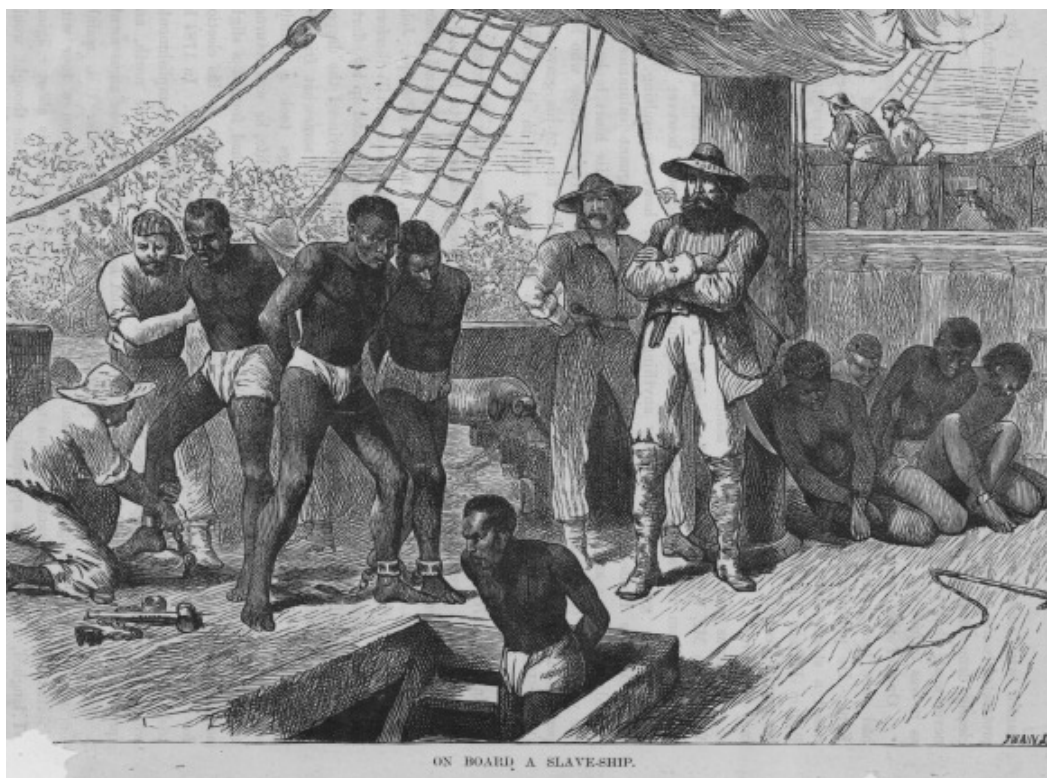


Image copyright © Getty Images

In this print, circa 1835, slaves are being readied for transport across the Atlantic. The Middle Passage, so called because it was the middle leg of the slave trader's trip from Europe to Africa to the Americas and back to Europe, took three to five weeks. By the late eighteenth century, the mortality rate of African slaves during the Middle Passage was 5 to 10 percent, about half what it had been earlier. During the voyage, male slaves typically were forced to lie on their backs in a space about 4 x 6 feet, with only a few feet of headroom, though occasional exercise was permitted. Slave insurrections, both while the ship was in port in Africa and during the voyage, were common.

Emancipation Proclamation, 1863.



Image copyright © Getty Images

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in 1861 split the nation over the issue of slavery. The North's antipathy to slavery contrasted sharply with the South's dependence upon it. On 22 September 1862, Lincoln issued the first part of his Emancipation Proclamation, declaring that all slaves working in ten key states of the Confederacy would be freed from the burden of slavery if the states had not returned to the Union by January 1, 1863. Although the announcement was met with some celebration by slaves in the Confederate states, the proclamation could not be effectively implemented until the states had fallen to Union armies. There were exemptions: the proclamation did not apply to slaves kept in any of the Union states; neither did it apply in the state of Tennessee, which was already under Union control, or in Maryland, Missouri, Delaware, or Lincoln's home state of Kentucky, which had never officially seceded from the Union, although most of these states used slaves extensively.

Ku Klux Klan, c.1930.

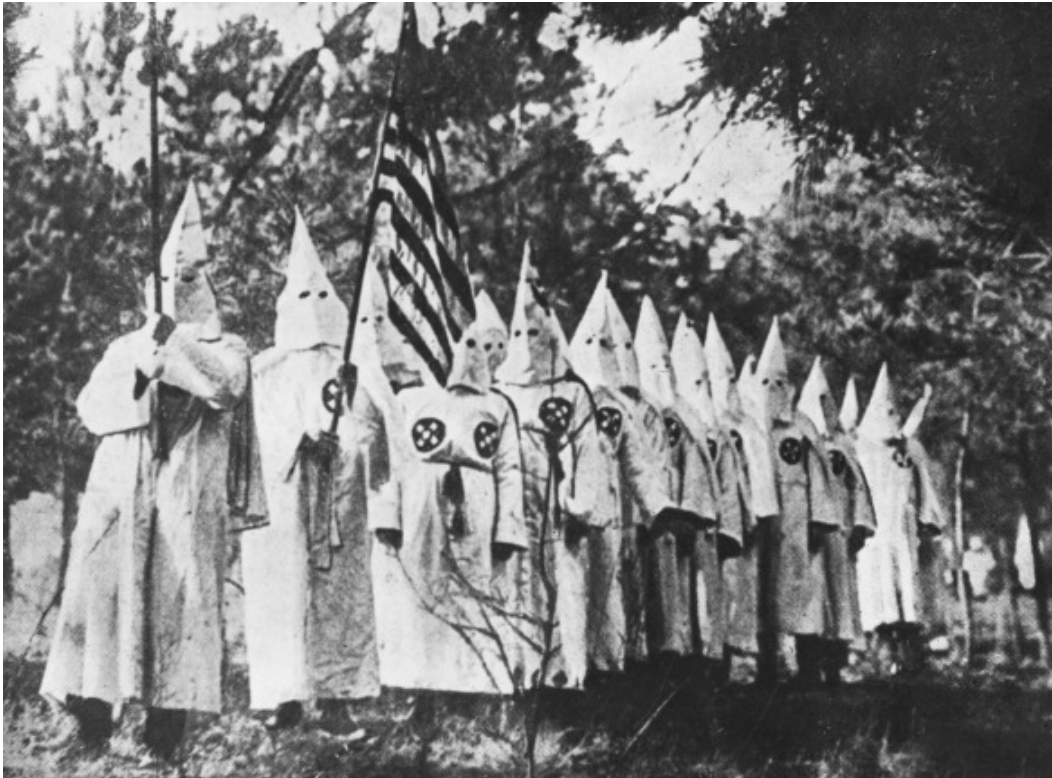


Image copyright © Getty Images

The original Ku Klux Klan was founded on Christmas Eve, 1865, in Pulaski, Tennessee by former Confederate soldiers. The original Klan was active primarily in the South. Although its initial aims included providing assistance to the many Confederate women left widowed by the Civil War, the organization had, from its outset, set out to oppose the granting of any rights to African Americans. Within a few years of its founding the Klan had gained a reputation for violence and murder, often perpetrated against emancipated slaves or black businessmen. The government of the former Union general, President Ulysses S. Grant, acted in 1871 to ban the organization. The combination of the weight of federal attention and the fact that the Klan rapidly achieved many of its aims (aided by a willing and often supportive white community) meant that by the 1880s it had largely been rendered redundant. However, in 1915, the early Hollywood film *The Birth of a Nation*, made by the pioneering director D. W. Griffith, cast Klan members as saviors of the fledgling United States, and reorganized the group. The movement was secretive and public gatherings were rare; members wore white robes and hoods at official functions.

Lynch mob, Indiana, 1930.



Image copyright © Getty Images

The bodies of two young black men hang from a tree in the state of Indiana. The practice of lynching dated from the Revolution, and was often used to punish anyone accused of assisting the British. In this brutal version of mob justice, the accused was often “convicted” by a crowd of people on flimsy or made-up evidence. Invariably the sentence was death, being carried out immediately. In the post-Civil War period, whites across the South adopted the barbaric practice as a means of exercising control over, and venting their anger at, African Americans. In the period after World War One, the resurgent Ku Klux Klan used lynching extensively, mostly in the South. It is impossible to know how many African Americans were the victims of lynching, although the Memphis-based anti-lynching campaigner Ida B. Wells-Barnett estimated that over 700 black men and women were lynched in the Memphis area alone in just a few months of 1884, and there are 3,386 known cases between 1882 and 1930. The jazz singer Billie Holiday recorded “Strange Fruit” in 1939, an eloquent anti-lynching song that would become one of her most famous.

Kinney Booker, Tulsa, Oklahoma, February 2001.

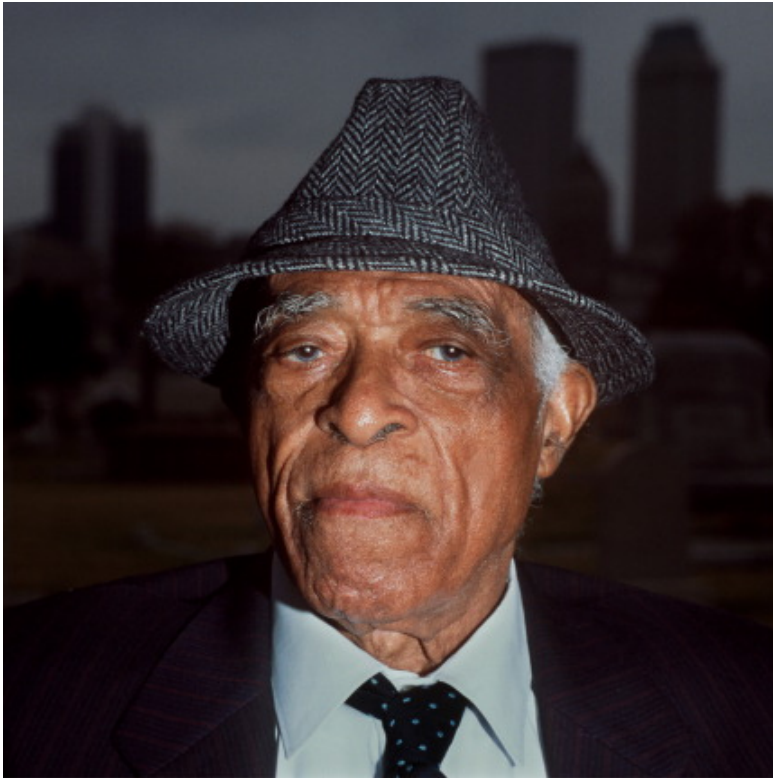


Image copyright © Getty Images

Kinney Booker poses for a portrait after giving evidence to the Oklahoma Commission's investigation into the Tulsa Race Riots of 1921. The precise sequence of events of the night of May 31, 1921 have been hotly debated for nearly eighty years, although the legacy was evident from the moment dawn broke on 1 June: a once thriving neighborhood in the city of Tulsa had been reduced to smoking ruins. The evening before, a white lynch mob had begun attacking African Americans in the area, after rumors that a white woman had been attacked. A large crowd soon gathered, and events began to spin out of control, as whites went on a rampage through the largely African American neighborhood of Greenwood. Houses were broken into and burned, and the inhabitants beaten, shot, and set alight as the crowd moved slowly through the district. By the morning, at least forty people had died, though some estimates put the death toll at over three hundred, and thirty-five blocks of the city had been laid waste.

Lynching of J.D. Ivy, Georgia, 1925.



Image copyright © Getty Images

A Georgia lynch mob pauses in its work to make time for a photograph, while their victim is blindfolded and bound to a wooden stake. At his feet is kindling that will be ignited to burn him to death. Lynching was widespread across the South, and many of the victims, although nominally accused of crimes against the white community, were often simply in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Ida Wells-Barnett, 1890.



Image copyright © Getty Images

Born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862-1931) was a leading figure in the anti-lynching movement of the late

nineteenth century. At the age of sixteen, an outbreak of yellow fever left her an orphan, and she dropped out of school to keep her five siblings together. She found work as a teacher at age sixteen, and by 1884 was writing regular commentaries under the pseudonym "Iola." She became editor of the black newspaper *The Memphis Free Speech* in 1889, and when the paper was destroyed by fire she became part owner of *New York Age*. She used her journalism as a platform to investigate the hardships suffered by many African Americans and quickly identified lynching as one of the most serious. (Three of her friends were killed in this way.) Her investigations brought death threats from local white supremacist groups. A key figure in the early Civil Rights Movement, Ida B. Wells also was a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Martin Luther King, Jr., "I Have a Dream" speech, Washington, DC, August 1963.



Image copyright © Magnum Photos

"Let freedom ring!" Martin Luther King, Jr. delivers his famous "I Have A Dream" speech in front of around hundreds of thousands of people after the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom reached the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. The march took place on August 23, 1963 and was addressed by several figures, including Marlon Brando, Sidney Poitier, Joan Baez, and Bob Dylan. But it was the final speaker who had the greatest impact that day. King, the leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, delivered a speech in which he set out his dream, of black and white people living as equals. Invoking the words of the Founding Fathers, their promise of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" to all men, and the legacy of the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, the speech was an eloquent, emotional, and powerful expression of centuries of oppression and disappointment, and yet King still offered the light of hope and embodied the determination to carry on until equality was achieved. King spoke of the "great vaults of opportunity" America offered, and urged that "Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice, to the solid rock of brotherhood." The speech concluded, to tumultuous applause, with the words of an old slave song, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!" It remains one of the most evocative and significant speeches of American history.

March on Washington, Washington, DC, August 28, 1963.



Image copyright © Magnum Photos

A state highway sign in the state of Georgia explicitly forbids African Americans from entering a roadside park. By the 1960s authorities in many Southern states actively implemented segregation by public services, enshrining the policies of racial discrimination in legislation. The situation was upheld by local businesses, with shops and restaurants separating white customers from African American ones. The assortment of laws came to be known collectively across all states as “Jim Crow laws,” taking the name from a minstrel show character. Legislation began to be introduced in the wake of the Confederacy’s absolute defeat in the Civil War, and the emancipation of slaves from cotton, tobacco, and sugarcane plantations. One early law was passed in 1890, when Alabama decreed that African Americans had to ride in separate railroad cars and were not permitted to mix with white passengers. Although a challenge was mounted against the law, the Supreme Court upheld the “separate but equal” policy, and states across the South began segregating schools, public transport, water fountains, restrooms, and public areas. Increasingly, the inequalities of segregation attracted the attention of civil rights groups.

Chronology

c.700 Early forms of racism against Africans in the Islamic world

1391 Anti-Jewish riots in Spain

1440s Emergence of modern racism in Iberia, as Jews are essentialized through “blood purity” laws and the African slave trade is introduced via the Atlantic.

1478 Establishment of the Spanish Inquisition.

1492 Jews expelled from Spain.

1492 Columbus makes landfall in the Americas.

1502 First African slaves sent to the Americas arrive in Hispaniola.

1542 Native American slavery outlawed by the Spanish Crown.

1550s English merchants begin purchasing slaves on the African coast and trading them in Spain’s American colonies.

1619 First African slaves arrive in English North America at Jamestown.

1735 Publication of Carolus Linnaeus’s *Systema Naturae*, which classifies humans into six basic varieties, marking the beginning of modern racial “science.”

1791 Haitian Revolution begins.

1804 Haitian independence and the establishment of the first free black Republic in the Americas.

1863 Emancipation Proclamation frees slaves in the rebellious states of the United States.

1866 Establishment of the Ku Klux Klan in Tennessee.

1867–1875 From the passage of the Reconstruction Act (1867) until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, the legal edifice of white supremacy is dismantled, as universal manhood suffrage is established and discrimination in public facilities was outlawed.

1877 The Compromise of 1877 insures that Republicans retain the White House in exchange for Democratic claims to “states’ rights” in the South. These states’ rights pave the way for the establishment of Jim Crow laws that overturn the voting and civil rights gains

of the immediate post-Civil War period.

1888 Abolition of slavery in Brazil, the last country in the Western hemisphere to end the practice of human bondage.

1880–1930 More than three thousand African Americans lynched in the American South. Also the height of racial science, the belief that biological traits could explain degeneracy, criminality, homosexuality, and so on.

1939–1945 World War II and the Holocaust. The extermination of more than 5 million Jews in Europe transforms debates over the link between biology and human capacity.

1948 The Nationalist Party comes to power in South Africa and begins introducing legislation aimed at complete racial segregation, known as apartheid.

1954 In *Brown v. Board of Education* the United States Supreme Court strikes down racial segregation in public schools, concluding that separate educational facilities for black and white children are inherently unequal.

1964 Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlaws racial discrimination in public accommodations and government programs in the United States. The bill also requires employers to provide equal employment opportunities to all people regardless of race, sex, or creed.

1965 Voting Rights Act of 1965 enforces the guarantees of the Fifteenth Amendment, allowing for federal intervention to protect the voting rights of African Americans. The federal law strikes down all state laws that required prerequisites or qualifications that excluded African Americans from voting.

1994 Nelson Mandela is elected president of a democratic South Africa, ending forty-six years of government-sanctioned racial discrimination in the form of apartheid.

2001 Brazilian Justice Ministry announces a system of racial quotas that require a minimum number of blacks (20%) in management positions of companies that do business with the Justice Ministry. This announcement is followed by similar ones that establish racial quotas in the civil service, state universities, and other public institutions.

2002 US Census Bureau estimates that Latinos now outnumber African Americans in the US population.

Glossary

Apartheid. The policy of strict segregation and government-enforced discrimination against non-whites practiced in South Africa from 1948 until 1994.

Baez, Joan.

Folk singer, songwriter, and civil rights activist. In 1965 Baez participated in the civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, and cofounded the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence. In 1966 Baez marched with Martin Luther King, Jr. in Grenada, Mississippi. She received the American Civil Liberties Union's Earl Warren Award and founded the Humanitas International Human Rights Committee in 1979.

Birth: January 9, 1941 in Staten Island, New York

References:

Baez, Joan (1987), *And a Voice to Sing With: A Memoir*, New York: Summit Books.

Fuss, Charles J. (1996), *Joan Baez: A Bio-Bibliography*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Blumenbach, Johann.

German physiologist and anthropologist. Blumenbach's doctoral dissertation, *De generis humani varietate nativa liber* (1776, "On the Natural Varieties of Mankind"), is considered to be one of the most influential works in the development of physical and scientific anthropology. He was the first to use the word "race" and divided the human species into the classifications of Caucasian, Mongolian, Malayan, Negro, and American, assigning each physical and psychological characteristics.

Birth: May 11, 1752 in Gotha

Death: January 22, 1840 in Göttingen

References:

Baron, Walter (1962), *Evolutionary Ideas in the Writings of J. F. Blumenbach (1752–1840)*, Paris: Hermann.

Borde, Andrew.

Author, physician, traveler, and scholar. Borde traveled extensively in Europe, northern Africa, and areas of the Middle East as an emissary for Oliver Cromwell. His book *The Introduction of Knowledge* (1555?) is a collection of observations of the countries, customs, and languages he experienced. In his 1547 account of Barbary, Borde noted the different races of Muslims and the presence of slavery.

Birth: c.1490 in Boord's Hill, Holmsdale, England

Death: April 1549 in England

References:

Harrison, William (1968), *The Description of England*, Georges Edelen (ed.), Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Shrank, Cathy (2004), *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Butlan, Ibn.

Eleventh-century Christian Arab physician. Butlan wrote the *Taqwim es-sihha* (“The Almanac of Health”), later translated as *Tacuinum Sanitalis*, a medical guide that influenced western medicine. In his journals he gives racist characterizations of East African slaves in Baghdad.

Birth: (?) Baghdad, Iraq

Death: September 2, 1066 in Antioch, Syria

References:

Conrad, L. I. (1995), “Scholarship and the Social Context: A Medical Case from the Eleventh-Century Near East,” in *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions*, Don Bates (ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: pp. 84–100.

Schacht, Joseph and Max Meyerhof (1937), *The Medico–Philosophical Controversy Between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo: A Contribution to the History of Greek Learning Among the Arabs*, Cairo: N.p.

Brando, Marlon.

Actor and human rights activist. Brando won an Oscar in 1955 for his performance in *On the Waterfront*. In 1972 he won a second Oscar for his role in *The Godfather* but refused the award in protest of the mistreatment of American Indians by the federal government. Brando participated in the March on Washington in 1963 and announced after Martin Luther King, Jr.’s death that he would stop acting to fully commit himself to the Civil Rights Movement. He traveled with the freedom riders to desegregate interstate bus lines and appeared before the California Assembly to promote a state fair housing law. He actively supported the Black Panthers and participated in the memorial for George Jackson.

Birth: April 3, 1924 in Omaha, Nebraska

Death: July 1, 2004 in Los Angeles, California

References:

Brando, Marlon and Robert Lindsey (1994), *Brando: Songs My Mother Taught Me*, New York: Random House.

de Las Casas, Bartolomé.

Missionary, historian, and human rights activist. A Spanish missionary, Las Casas became in 1512 the first priest ordained in the New World. In 1542 he convinced King Charles I of Spain to enact the “New Laws,” which prohibited slavery and curbed the growing feudal system. He was named bishop of Chiapas in Guatemala in 1544 to enforce the new laws but was met with colonialist resistance. A history of the Indies and the atrocities of the Spanish can be found in his major works *Brevissima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552) and *Historia de Las Indias* (1875).

Birth: 1484 in Seville, Spain

Death: 1566 in Madrid, Spain

References:

Freide, Juan and Benjamin Keen (eds) (1971), *Bartolomé de Las Casas in History: Toward an Understanding of the Man and His Work*, DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.

Hanke, Lewis (1951), *Bartolomé de Las Casas: An Interpretation of His Life and Writings*, The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

Columbus, Christopher.

Explorer. Columbus made four voyages to the Caribbean and South America for King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella of Spain. The first of these voyages landed in the Bahamas on October 12, 1492 and consisted of three ships and 87 crewmen. During his second voyage (1493–1496), Columbus sent 550 Arawak Indians to Spain to be sold as slaves.

Birth: 1451 in Genoa, Italy

Death: May 20, 1506 in Valladolid, Spain

References:

Fernández-Armesto, Felipe (1991), *Columbus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gimmel, Millie (2005), “Christopher Columbus,” in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, Vol. 318: *Sixteenth-Century Spanish Writers*, Gregory B. Kaplan (ed.), Detroit: Brucoli Clark Layman / Gale Research, pp. 35–43.

Compromise of 1877. The official end of Reconstruction. In exchange for not contesting the Election of 1876, the Democrats demanded the following concessions: the removal of all remaining federal troops in the South; federal funding for internal improvements in the region; and a Southerner to be appointed to the presidential cabinet. It paved the way for Jim Crow laws that overturned the voting and civil rights gains of the post-Civil War period.

Dylan, Bob.

Folk/rock singer, songwriter, and guitarist. Born Robert Allen Zimmerman, Dylan wrote songs that addressed the issues of the antiwar protest and Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. In 1963 he was given the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee’s Tom Paine Award. He has received three Grammy Awards and the Grammy Lifetime Achievement Award in 1991. Dylan was inducted to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1989.

Birth: May 24, 1941 in Duluth, Minnesota

References:

Dylan, Bob (2004), *Chronicles*, New York: Simon & Schuster.

Queen Elizabeth I.

Queen of England. The daughter of King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth ruled from November 1558 to 1603.

Birth: September 7, 1533 in Kent, England

Death: March 24, 1603 in London, England

References:

Starkey, David (2001), *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, New York: HarperCollins.

Weir, Alison (1998), *The Life of Elizabeth I*, New York: Ballantine.

Grant, Ulysses S.

Eighteenth president of the United States and US general. From 1864 to 1865 Grant was the US general commander of the Union armies during the American Civil War. He was president of the United States from 1869 to 1877.

Birth: April 27, 1822 in Point Pleasant, Ohio

Death: July 23, 1885 in Mount McGregor, New York

References:

Bunting, Josiah (2004), *Ulysses S. Grant*, New York: Times Books.

Grant, Ulysses S. (1886) *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*, New York: Webster.

Smith, Jean Edward (2001), *Grant*, New York: Simon & Schuster.

Griffith, D. W.

Movie director, writer, producer, distributor. Griffith's began directing movies at Biograph in 1908, where he spent five years refining the movie-making process. He is credited with innovating or improving traditional camera and editing techniques. His *The Birth: of a Nation* (1915), was socially and politically inflammatory yet but also demonstrated vast contributions to filmmaking technology. d and creative movie technology. DOften called the Father of Cinema, he created uring his career Griffith created well over 300 one-reel films and almost 30 that were feature-length films during his career. In 1919 he became one of the cofounders of United Artists.

Birth: January 22, 1875 in LaGrange, Kentucky

Death: July 23, 1948 in Hollywood, California

References:

Henderson, Robert M. (1972), *D. W. Griffith: His Life and Work*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Schickel, Richard (1984), *D. W. Griffith: An American Life*, New York: Simon & Schuster.

Hawkins, John.

English admiral. In 1562 Hawkins began the transatlantic slave trade by capturing Africans in Sierra Leone and selling them as slaves to Spanish colonialists in the Caribbean. He was knighted for commanding the *Victory* in the 1588 defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Birth: 1532 in Plymouth, England

Death: November 21, 1595 at sea near Puerto Rico

References:

Kelsey, Harry (2003), *Sir John Hawkins: Queen Elizabeth's Slave Trader*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hayes, Rutherford B.

Nineteenth president of the United States. Hayes is the only president whose election was decided by congressional committee. In the Compromise of 1877, Hayes agreed to end the Reconstruction if southern leaders promised to protect the political, economic, and civil rights of African Americans.

Birth: October 4, 1822 in Delaware, Ohio

Death: January 17, 1893 in Fremont, Ohio

References:

Hoogenboom, Ari Arthur (1995), *Rutherford B. Hayes: Warrior and President*, Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.

<http://www.rbhayes.org> (viewed on January 25, 2006).

Holiday, Billie.

Jazz singer. Born Eleanora Fagan, Holiday was a popular jazz singer and recording artist from the early 1930s to the late 1950s. Her song "Strange Fruit" was an indictment of the lynchings occurring in the southern states. Regarded as one of the most important musical figures of her time, Holiday recorded over 300 songs.

Birth: April 7, 1915 in Baltimore, Maryland

Death: July 17, 1959 in New York City, New York

References:

Holiday, Billy, William Duffy, and Vincent Pelote (1956), *Lady Sings the Blues*, New York: Doubleday.

Nicholson, Stuart (1995), *Billie Holiday*, Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Hooton, Earnest A.

Anthropologist. Hooton, a Harvard professor, researched early man and primates seeking a correlation between body build and social, cultural, and racial factors. He was the editor of *Harvard African Studies* from 1918 to 1954 and wrote extensively, including *Up from*

the Ape (1931, revised 1946).

Birth: November 20, 1887 in Clemansville, Wisconsin

Death: 1954

Jefferson, Thomas.

Third president of the United States. Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence. As president he opposed centralized government in support of state rights and made the Louisiana Purchase from Napoleon in 1803.

Birth: April 13, 1743 in Shadwell, Virginia

Death: July 4, 1826 in Charlottesville, Virginia

References:

Axelrod, Alan (2001), *The Life and Work of Thomas Jefferson*, Indianapolis, IN: Alpha.

Ellis, Joseph J. (1997), *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson*, New York: Knopf.

Jim Crow Laws. Laws that enforced racial segregation in the restaurants, saloons, hotels, trains, schools, and other public facilities in the American South after the Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) approved the doctrine of “separate but equal.”

Khaldun, Ibn.

Tunisian Muslim historian and politician. Khaldun wrote a multivolume history of the world called *Kitar al-I'bar*, and its introductory volume called *Muqaddimah*, which emphasized the economic, sociological, psychological, and environmental factors that influenced events.

Birth: May 27, 1332 in Tunis

Death: March 17, 1406

References:

Khaldun, Ibn (1952), *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, translated by Walter Joseph Fischel (ed.), Berkeley: University of California Press.

King, Martin Luther, Jr.

Civil rights activist, Baptist preacher and Nobel Laureate. King was a pivotal leader in the Civil Rights Movement who advocated a philosophy of civil disobedience and nonviolent direct action. He was elected president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, which organized the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955. In 1957 King founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and led the organization until his death. At the 1963 March on Washington he delivered his famous “I Have a Dream” speech, which galvanized the struggle for civil rights in America. King was assassinated in 1968 at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee. James Earl Ray was convicted of the murder, but the speculation of a conspiracy is still associated with the case.

Birth: January 15, 1929 in Atlanta, Georgia

Death: April 4, 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee

References:

Deats, Richard L. (1999), *Martin Luther King, Jr., Spirit-led Prophet: a Biography*, Hyde Park, NY: New City Press.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1992–), *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. and Clayborne Carson (1998), *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, New York: Warner Books.

Lincoln, Abraham.

Sixteenth president of the United States (1861–1865). Lincoln successfully preserved the Union during the Civil War and freed the slaves of all states in rebellion with the Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863). He was assassinated in 1865.

Birth: February 12, 1809 in Hodgenville, Kentucky

Death: April 15, 1865 in Washington, DC

References:

Basler, Roy P. (ed.) (1953–1955), *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Oates, Stephen B. (1984), *Abraham Lincoln, the Man Behind the Myths*, New York: Harper & Row.

Paludan, Phillip Shaw (1994), *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Linnaeus, Carolus.

Swedish botanist. Linnaeus wrote *Systema Naturae* (1735), a system for classifying organisms that became the basis for modern taxonomy.

Birth: May 23, 1707 in Stenbrohult, Sweden

Death: January 10, 1778 in Sweden

References:

Blunt, Wilfrid (1971), *The Complete Naturalist: A Life of Linnaeus*, London: Collins.

Mandela, Nelson.

Political prisoner, and then first democratically elected president of South Africa. Mandela is known for being a leading activist in the fight against apartheid in South Africa. After serving a twenty-six-year prison sentence for treason, he was elected president of the African National Congress in 1991. In 1993, he received the Nobel Peace Prize, and the following year became the first democratically elected president of South Africa.

Birth: July 18, 1918 in Transkei, South Africa

References:

Mandela, Nelson (2003), *In His Own Words*, Kader Asmal, David Chidester and Wilmot Godfrey James (eds.), New York: Little, Brown.

Meer, Fatima (1988), *Higher Than Hope: The Authorized Biography of Nelson Mandela*, New York: Harper and Row.
<http://www.nelsonmandela.org/> (viewed 19 December 2005).

Mestizaje. Hybridization of two peoples, culturally, ethnically, or racially.

Moors. Muslim people, generally of mixed Arab and Berber ancestry, who invaded and occupied Spain from the eighth century until 1492.

Munnabih, Wahb ibn.

Mohammedan traditionist and Islamic scholar. Munnabih served as a *qadi*, or bard of religious tales, under the Umayyad caliph, Cumar b. 'Abd al Aziz. He also wrote religious histories of Mohammed and the prophets. His major work is *Kitab al-Tijan*.

Birth: 654 in San'aa, Yemen

Death: 728

Poitier, Sidney.

Actor, director, producer. Poitier was nominated for an Academy Award in 1958, and when he won the Oscar in 1963 for his performance in *Lilies of the Field* he became the first black man and the second African American to receive an Academy Award. He was cofounder of the First Artists Production Company in 1969. In 2002 he was chosen to receive an honorary Academy Award for lifetime achievement.

Birth: February 20, 1927 (?) in Miami, Florida

References:

Goudsouzian, Aram (2004), *Sidney Poitier: Man, Actor, Icon*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Poitier, Sidney (2000), *The Measure of a Man: A Spiritual Autobiography*, San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.

Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

Editor and journalist. Wells-Barnett purchased one-third ownership of the newspaper *Free Speech* in 1889. After the office of the *Free Speech* was destroyed by a mob in 1892, Wells-Barnett fled to New York where she became part owner of the weekly paper *New York Age*. During her time at the *New York Age* Wells-Barnett, who used the pseudonym Iola, wrote antilynching editorials and the pamphlet *Southern Horrors. Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (1892). In 1893 Wells-Barnett moved to Chicago, began writing for the *Chicago Conservator*, and purchased the paper from her future husband, Ferdinand L. Barnett. Wells-Barnett sold the *Conservator* in 1897 and took a hiatus from public affairs to raise her family. She continued publishing editorials in the *Chicago Defender* in her later life and became highly involved in the women's rights movement.

Birth: July 16, 1862 in Holly Springs, Mississippi

Death: March 25, 1931 in Chicago, Illinois

References:

Athey, Stephanie (2000), "Ida B. Wells-Barnett," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, Volume 221: *American Women Prose Writers, 1870–1920*.

McMurray, Linda O. (1999), *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Whitening. The unwritten policy practiced by Brazilian and Hispano-American elites of increasing the percentage of the white population in the belief that African Americans are inferior. Whitening could be achieved by increasing white immigration, forbidding black immigration, or by miscegenation, which would eradicate blacks.

Recommended reading

Key: ★ = Required reading

Abelmann, Nancy and John Lie (1995), *Blue Dreams: Korean Americans and the Los Angeles Riots*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. ISBN: 0674077040

Alfonso X, (1959) *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 4 vols., Walter Mettmann (ed.), Coimbra: Por Ordem de Universidade, 1959.

Allen, Theodore (1994), *The Invention of the White Race: Volume One: Racial Oppression and Social Control*, London: Verso. ISBN: 0860914801

American Association of Physical Anthropologists (1996), "AAPA Statement on Biological Aspects of Race," *Physical Anthropology*, vol. 101, pp. 569–70. ISSN: 1074-1844

Anderson, Elizabeth (2002), "Integration, Affirmative Action, and Strict Scrutiny," *NYU Law Review*, vol. 77, pp. 1195–271. ISSN: 0028-7881

Andrews, George Reid (1991), *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. ISBN: 0299131009

Andrews, George Reid (1993), “Desigualdad Racial en Brasil y en Estados Unidos: Un Estudio Estadístico Comparado,” *Desarrollo Económico*, vol. 33, pp. 185–216. ISSN: 0046-001X

Anonymous Spanish Franciscan (14th Century/1912), *Book of Knowledge of all the kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships that are in the World, and the Arms and Devices of each Land and Lordship, or of the Kings and Lords who Possess them*, trans. Clements Robert Markham, London: Hakluyt Society, p. 36.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony and Amy Gutmann (1996), *Color Conscious: the Political Morality of Race*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 0691026610

Armour, Jody David (1997), *Negrophobia and Reasonable Racism: The Hidden Costs of Being Black in America*, New York: New York University Press. ISBN: 0585028273

Arocha, Jaime (1998), “Inclusion of Afro-Colombians: Unreachable National Goal?” *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 70–89. ISSN: 0094-582X

★ Association of American Anthropologists (1998), “AAA Statement on Race,” *American Anthropologist*, vol. 100, pp. 712–13. ISSN: 0002-7294

Aubert, Guillaume (2004), “‘The Blood of France’: Race and Purity of Blood in the French Atlantic World,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 439–78. ISSN: 0043-5597

Austen, Ralph (1979), “The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census” in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (eds), New York: Academic Press, pp. 23–76. ISBN: 0122798503

Ayers, Ian (2001), *Pervasive Prejudice?: Unconventional Evidence of Race and Gender Discrimination*, Chicago: Chicago University Press. ISBN: 0226033511

Banton, Michael (1988), *Racial Consciousness*, New York: Longman. ISBN: 058202384X

★ Bartlett, Robert (2001), “Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 39–56. ISSN: 1082-9636

Battuta, Ibn (1975), *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*, trans. Said Hamdun and Noël King London: Collings. ISBN: 0901720577

★ Beasley, Maya Alexandra (2004), “Perpetuating the occupational achievement gap through the aspirations of African American and white college students,” PhD dissertation, Stanford University.

Bederman, Gail (1995), *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 45–76. ISBN: 0226041387

Berlin, Ira (1996), “From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 53, pp. 251–88. ISSN: 0043-5597

Billor, Peter (2003), “The Black in Medieval Science: What Significance?”, paper presented at the Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition, Yale University, 7–8 November.

★ Bloom, Lisa (1994), “Constructing Whiteness: Popular Science and the *National Geographic* in the Age of Multiculturalism,” *Configurations: A Journal of Literature, Science, and Technology*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 15–32. ISSN: 1063-1801

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo (1997), “Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation,” *American Sociological Review*, vol. 62, pp. 465–80. ISSN: 0003-1224

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo (2001), *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. ISBN: 1588260046

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo (2003), *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. ISBN: 0742516334

- Borde, Andrew (1547/1870), *The Fyrst boke of the Introduction of knowledge*, F. J. Furnivall (ed.), London: W. Copland; London: N. T. Trübner, for the Early English Text Society, p. 212.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1977), *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 052129164X
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1986), *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 466. ISBN: 0415045460
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1990), *In Other Words: Essays Toward a Reflexive Sociology*, trans. Matthew Adamson, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990, p. 130. ISBN: 0804715572
- Bowen, William and Derek Bok (1998), *The Shape of the River: Long-term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 0691002746
- Boxill, Bernard (ed.) (2001), *Race and Racism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 0198752679
- ★ Braun, Lundy (2002), "Race, Ethnicity, and Health: Can Genetics Explain Disparities?" *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 159–74. ISSN: 0031-5982
- Bronfman, Alejandra (2004), *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902–1940*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. ISBN: 0807855634
- Brundage, W. Fitzhugh (1993), *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880–1930*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, p. 8. ISBN: 0252019873
- Burdick, John (1998), "The Lost Constituency of Brazil's Black Movements," *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 136–55. ISSN: 0094-582X
- Calhoun, Craig, Edward LiPuma, and Moishe Postone (eds) (1993), *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, pp. 156–77. ISBN: 0226090930
- ★ Chalhoub, Sidney (1993), "The Politics of Disease Control: Yellow Fever and Race in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 25, pp. 441–63. ISSN: 0022-216X
- ★ Chaplin, Joyce E. (1997), "Natural Philosophy and an Early Racial Idiom in North America: Comparing English and Indian Bodies," *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 54, no. 1, pp. 229–52. ISSN: 0043-5597
- Chaplin, Joyce E. (2001), *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. ISBN: 0674011228
- Cohen, William B. (1980), *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530–1880*, Bloomington: University of Indiana Press. ISBN: 0253216508
- Columbus, Christopher (1985), *Diario de a bordo*, Luis Arranz (ed.), Madrid, Spain: Historia 16, p. 91. ISBN: 8449203511
- Cope, R. Douglas (1994), *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660–1720*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. ISBN: 029914044X
- Cose, Ellis (1997), *Color-Blind: Seeing Beyond Race in a Race-Obsessed World*, New York: HarperCollins. ISBN: 0060174978
- David, Richard J. and James W. Collins, Jr. (1991), "Bad Outcomes in Black Babies: Race or Racism?" *Ethnicity and Disease*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 236–44. ISSN: 1049-510X
- Davis, David Brion (1997), "Constructing Race: A Reflection," *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 54, pp. 7–18. ISSN: 0043-5597
- Discover Magazine* (special issue) (1994), "The Science of Race," vol. 15, no. 11 (Nov.). ISSN: 0274-7529
- Dos Santos Oliveira, N. (1996), "Favelas and Ghettos: Race and Class in Rio de Janeiro and New York City," *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 71–89. ISSN: 0094-582X

D'Souza, Dinesh (1996), *The End of Racism: Principles for a Multicultural Society*, New York: Free Press. ISBN: 0029081025

★ Duany, Jorge (1998), "Reconstructing Racial Identity: Ethnicity, Color, and Class Among Dominicans in the United States and Puerto Rico," *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 147–72. ISSN: 0094-582X

★ Dubois, Laurent (1993), "A Spoonful of Blood: Haitians, Racism, and AIDS," *Science as Culture*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 7–43. ISSN: 0950-5431

Elliott, J. H. (1963), *Imperial Spain: 1469–1716*, London: Edward Arnold, p. 36. ISBN: 0140210431

Evans, William McKee (1980), "From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the Sons of Ham," *American Historical Review*, vol. 85, no. 1, pp. 15–43. ISSN: 0002-8762

Ezorsky, Gertrude (1991), *Racism and Justice: the Case for Affirmative Action*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press. ISBN: 0801499224

Feagin, Joe R. (1991), "The Continuing Significance of Race: Antiblack Discrimination in Public Places," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 56, pp. 101–16. ISSN: 0003-1224

Fields, Barbara (1982), "Ideology and Race in American History," in *Region, Race and Reconstruction*, J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (eds), Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 0195030753

★ Fields, Barbara J. (1990), "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review*, vol. 181, pp. 95–118. ISSN: 0028-6060

Fish, Stanley (1993), "Reverse Racism, or How the Pot Got to Call the Kettle Black," *The Atlantic Monthly* (Nov.). ISSN: 1072-7825

Fiss, Owen (2003), *A Way Out: America's Ghettos and the Legacy of Racism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 0691088810

Fonseca, Jorge (2002), *Escravos no Sul de Portugal, Séculos XVI–XVII*, Lisbon, Portugal: Editora Vulgata, pp. 36, 77–92. ISBN: 9728427239

Fraser, Steven (ed.) (1995), *The Bell Curve Wars: Race, Intelligence, and the Future of America*, New York: Basic Books. ISBN: 0465006930

Fredrickson, George M. (1988), *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality*, Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. ISBN: 0819562173

Fredrickson, George M. (2002), *Racism: A Short History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 069100899X

Fryer, Peter (1984), *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*, London: Pluto Press, p. 8. ISBN: 0861047494

★ de la Fuente, Alejandro (1998), "Race, National Discourse, and Politics in Cuba: An Overview," *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 43–69. ISSN: 0094-582X

de la Fuente, Alejandro (2001), *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. ISBN: 0807849227

Goldberg, David T. (ed.) (1990), *Anatomy of Racism*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. ISBN: 0816618038

Goldberg, David T. (1993), *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*, Oxford: Blackwell. ISBN: 0631180788

Goldberg, David T. (2002), *The Racial State*, Oxford: Blackwell. ISBN: 0631199217

Gordon, Edmund T. (1998), *Disparate Diasporas: Identity and Politics in an African-Nicaraguan Community*, Austin: University of Texas Press. ISBN: 0292728190

Gould, Stephen Jay (1981), *The Mismeasure of Man*, New York: W. W. Norton. ISBN: 0393014894

Gould, Stephen Jay (1994), "The Geometer of Race," *Discover Magazine*, vol. 15 (Nov.), p. 64. ISSN: 0274-7529

Graham, Richard (ed.) (1990), *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*, Austin: University of Texas Press. ISBN: 0292738560

★Greenstein, Ran (1993), “Racial Formation: Towards a Comparative Study of Collective Identities in South Africa and the United States,” *Social Dynamics*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 1–29. ISSN: 0253-3952

Hacker, Andrew (1992), *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*, New York: Scribners’. ISBN: 0684191482

Hakluyt, Richard (1598/1969), *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols., Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1903-1905, vol. 6, pp. 148, 152.

Hall, Kim F. (1995), *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press. ISBN: 0801431174

Hanchard, Michael, (ed.) (1999), *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press. ISBN: 0822322528

Hannaford, Ivan (1996), *Race: The History of an Idea in the West*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. ISBN: 0801852234

Harris, Marvin (1964/1974), *Patterns of Race in the Americas*, New York: Walker; New York: W. W. Norton. ISBN: 0393007278

★Harrison, Mark (1996), “The Tender Frame of Man: Disease, Climate, and Racial Differences in India and the West Indies, 1760–1860,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, vol. 70, no. 1, pp. 68–93. ISSN: 0007-5140

Hasenbalg, Carlos (1996), “Racial Inequalities in Brazil and Throughout Latin America: Timid Responses to Disguised Racism,” in *Constructing Democracy: Human Rights, Citizenship, and Society in Latin America*, Elizabeth Jelin and Eric Hershberg (eds), Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 161–75. ISBN: 0813324394

Herrnstein, Richard and Charles Murray (1994), *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, New York: Free Press. ISBN: 0029146739

★Higginbotham, Evelyn B. (1992), “African-American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 17, pp. 251–74. ISSN: 0097-9740

Hippocrates (1923/1995), *Hippocrates, vol. 1: Ancient Medicine – Airs, Waters, and Places: Loeb Classical Library no. 147*, trans. W. H. S. Jones, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. ISBN: 0674991621

★Holcomb, Lawrence (2003), “Revisiting race: Toward an analytic social-psychological approach to racial construction,” PhD dissertation, Brandeis University.

Hooton, Earnest A. (1926), “Methods of Racial Analysis,” *Science*, vol. 63, pp. 75–81. ISSN: 1095-9203

Hooton, Earnest A. (1936), “Plain Statements About Race,” *Science*, vol. 83, pp. 511–13. ISSN: 1095-9203

Hooton, Earnest A. (1939/1968), *Crime and the Man*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. ISBN: 0837104823

Howard, David (2001), *Coloring the Nation: Race and Ethnicity in the Dominican Republic*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. ISBN: 1555879985

★Htun, Mala (2004), “From ‘Racial Democracy’ to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil,” *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 60–89. ISSN: 0023-8791

★Hughes, Michael and Melvin E. Thomas (1998), “The Continuing Significance of Race Revisited: A Study of Race, Class, and Quality of Life in America, 1972–1996,” *American Sociological Review*, vol. 63, no. 6, pp. 785–95. ISSN: 0003-1224

Hunwick, John and Eve Troutt Powell (eds) (2002), *The African Diaspora in the Mediterranean Lands of Islam*, Princeton: Marcus Wiener, p. 37. ISBN: 1558762752

Hurtado, Aida (1996), *The Color of Privilege: Three Blasphemies on Race and Feminism*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. ISBN: 0472065319

Hyatt, Vera and Rex Nettleford (1995), *Race, Discourse and the Origins of the Americas: A New World View*, Washington, DC:

Smithsonian Institution Press. ISBN: 1560985070

Isaac, Benjamin (2004), *The Invention of Race in Classical Antiquity*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 0691116911

Jobson, Richard (1623/1968), *The Golden Trade*, London: Nicholas Okes; reprint, New York: De Capo Press, pp. 28–30.

Johnson, O. A., III (1998), “Racial Representation and Brazilian Politics: Black Members of the National Congress, 1983–1999,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, vol. 40, pp. 97–118. ISSN: 0022-1937

★ Jones, J. S. (1981), “How Different are Human Races?” *Nature*, vol. 293, pp. 188–90. ISSN: 0028-0836

Jordan, Winthrop D. (1968), *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. ISBN: 0807845507

Kelsey, Harry (2003), *Sir John Hawkins: Queen Elizabeth’s Slave Trader*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, pp. 14–15. ISBN: 0300096631

Kennedy, Randall (1997), *Race, Crime, and the Law*, New York: Vintage Books. ISBN: 0375701842

★ Kerles, Daniel J. (1995), “Genetics, race, and IQ: Historical Reflections from Binet to the Bell Curve,” *Contention: Debates in Society, Culture, and Science*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 3–18. ISSN: 1056-1072

Khaldun, Ibn (1967) “*The Muquaddimah*”: *An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 117. ISBN: 0691097976

Khosrau, Nassiri (1881), *Sefer Nemeh: Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau en Syrie, en Palestine, en Égypte, en Arabie et on Perse, pendant les années de l’hégire 437–444 (AD 1045–1052)*, Paris, France: E. Leroux.

Kirschenman, Joleen and Neckerman, Kathryn (1991), “‘We’d Love to Hire Them, But ...’: The Meaning of Race for Employers,” in *The Urban Underclass*, Christopher Jencks and Paul Peterson (eds), Washington, DC: Brookings Institution: pp. 203–32. ISBN: 0815746059

★ Knight, Alan (1990), “Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*: Mexico, 1910–1940,” in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*, Richard Graham (ed.), Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 71–113. ISBN: 0292738560

Kousser, J. Morgan (1999), *Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. ISBN: 0807824313

Krais, Beate (1993), “Gender and Symbolic Violence: Female Oppression in the Light of Pierre Bourdieu’s Theory of Social Practice,” in *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*, Craig Calhoun, Edward LiPuma, and Moishe Postone (eds), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 156–77. ISBN: 0226090922

Lancaster, Roger N. (1991), “Skin Color, Race, and Racism in Nicaragua,” *Ethnology*, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 339–53. ISSN: 0014-1828

LeDuff, Charlie (2000), “At a Slaughterhouse, Some Things Never Die,” *New York Times* (June 16) p. A1. ISSN: 0362-4331

Levin, Michael (1997), *Why Race Matters: Race Differences and What They Mean*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger. ISBN: 0275957896

Lewis, Bernard (1971), *Race and Color in Islam*, New York: Harper and Row. ISBN: 0061315907

Lewis, Bernard (1976), “The African Diaspora and the Civilization of Islam,” in *The African Diaspora*, Martin I. Kilson and Robert I. Rotberg (eds), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, pp. 48–49. ISBN: 0674007794

Lewis, Bernard (1982), *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York: W. W. Norton, p. 140. ISBN: 0393015297

Lewis, Bernard (1990), *Race and Slavery in the Middle East*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 0195062833

Linnaeus, Carolus (1735/1964), *Systema Naturae*, trans. M. S. J. Engel-Ledeboer and H. Engel, Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden], Holland: Apud Theodorum Haak, Ex typographia Joannis Wilhelmi de Groot; Nieuwkoop, Holland: B. de Graaf.

Lombroso, Cesare (1878/1971), *Delinquent Man*, Torino, Italy: Fratelli Bocca; Rome, Italy: Napoleone editore.

Lombroso, Cesare (1895/1972), *Criminal Man*, Paris, France: Ancienne Librairie Germer Baillière et Cie; Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith. ISBN: 0875851347

Loury, Glenn (2002), *The Anatomy of Racial Inequality*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. ISBN: 0674006259

Lovell, Peggy A. (1994), "Race, Gender, and Development in Brazil," *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 7–35. ISSN: 0023-8791

Lovell, Peggy A., and C. H. Wood (1998), "Skin Color, Racial Identity, and Life Chances in Brazil," *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 90–109. ISSN: 0094-582X

Mark, Peter (2002), *"Portuguese" Style and Luso-African Identity: Precolonial Senegambia, Sixteenth–Nineteenth Centuries*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press. ISBN: 0253215528

Martínez, María Elena (2004), "The Black Blood of New Spain: *Limpieza de Sangre*, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico," *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 479–520. ISSN: 0043-5597

★Marx, Anthony W. (1996), "Race-Making and the Nation State," *World Politics*, vol. 48, no. 2, pp. 180–208. ISSN: 0043-8871

Marx, Anthony W. (1998), *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 0521584558

Massey, Douglas and Nancy Denton (1993), *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. ISBN: 0674018206

McMillen, Neil R. (1990), *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 233–37. ISBN: 025206156X

Meacham, Jon (2000), "The New Face of Race," *Newsweek* (Sep. 18), p. 38. ISSN: 0028-9604

Mills, Charles W. (1997), *The Racial Contract*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press. ISBN: 0801434548

Mörner, Magnus (1967), *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*, Boston: Little, Brown. ISBN: 0316583693

★Mullainathan, Sendhil and Marianne Bertrand, (2004) "Are Emily and Greg More Employable than Lakisha and Jamal: A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination," *The American Economic Review*, vol. 94, no. 4, p. 991. ISSN: 0002-8282

Nash, Gary B. (1974), *Red, White, and Black: the Peoples of Early America*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. ISBN: 0137697864

Nash, Gary B. (1986), *Race, Class, and Politics*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press. ISBN: 0252013131

★Nazzari, Muriel (2001), "Vanishing Indians: The Social Construction of Race in Colonial São Paulo," *The Americas*, vol. 57, pp. 497–524. ISSN: 0003-1615

Newsweek Magazine (special issue) (2000), "Redefining Race in America," Sep. 18. ISSN: 0028-9604

Nirenberg, David (1996), *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 0691033757

Nirenberg, David (2002), "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain," *Past and Present*, vol. 174, p. 25. ISSN: 0031-2746

Nirenberg, David (2003), "Enmity and Assimilation: Jews, Christians, and Converts in Medieval Spain," *Common Knowledge*, vol. 9, p. 151. ISSN: 1090-1078

★Ojito, Mirta, (2000), "Best of Friends, Worlds Apart," in *New York Times* (special series) *How Race is Lived in America* (June 5), ISSN: 0362-4331

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant (1994), *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, London: Routledge. ISBN: 0415908647

- Pagden, Anthony (1982), *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 0521222028
- Palmer, Colin A. (1998), *Passageways: An Interpretive History of Black America, Volume II: 1863–1965*, Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace, pp. 113–21. ISBN: 0155024833
- ★ Park, Edward J. W. and John S. W. Park (1999), “A New American Dilemma: Asian Americans and Latinos in Race Theorizing,” *Journal of Asian American Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 289–309. ISSN: 1097-2129
- Peabody, Sue (2004), “‘A Nation Born to Slavery’: Missionaries and Racial Discourse in Seventeenth-Century French Antilles,” *Journal of Social History* vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 113–26. ISSN: 0022-4529
- Peabody, Sue (1996), *“There Are No Slaves in France”: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 0195101987
- Peabody, Sue and Tyler Stovall (eds) (2003), *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press. ISBN: 0822331306
- Pereira, Duarte Pacheco (1937), *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, trans. George H. T. Kimble, London: Hakluyt Society, 1937, pp. 89, 98, 136.
- Popovic, Alexandre (1999), *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th Century*, Princeton: Marcus Wiener. ISBN: 1558761632
- Reskin, Barbara (2000), “The Proximate Causes of Employment Discrimination,” *Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 319–29. ISSN: 0094-3061
- Ribeiro, Carlos Antonio Costa (1995), *Cor e Criminalidade: Estudo e Análise Da Justiça No Rio de Janeiro, 1900–1930*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Editora UFRJ. ISBN: 8571081220
- Roediger, David (1991), *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, London: Verso. ISBN: 0860913341
- Rosa, Andrew Juan (1996), “El Que No Tiene Dingo, Tiene Mandingo: the Inadequacy of the ‘Mestizo’ as a Theoretical Construct in the Field of Latin American studies—the Problem and Solution,” *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 27, pp. 278–91. ISSN: 0021-9347
- Rosenbaum, Ron (1995), “The Great Ivy League Nude Posture Photo Scandal,” *New York Times Magazine* (Jan. 15), pp. 26–56. ISSN: 0028-7822
- Sagás, Ernesto (2000), *Race and Politics in the Dominican Republic*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida. ISBN: 0813017637
- Sanders, Ronald (1978), *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands: The Origins of American Racism*, Boston: Little, Brown. ISBN: 0316770086
- Saunders, A. C. de C. M. (1982), *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 75, 77. ISBN: 0521231507
- ★ Schroer, Timothy Louis (2002), “Race after the master race: Germans and African Americans, 1945–1949,” PhD dissertation, University of Virginia.
- Schwarcz, Lilia Moritz (1999), *The Spectacle of the Races: Scientists, Institutions, and the Race Question in Brazil, 1870–1930*, New York: Hill and Wang. ISBN: 0809087898
- ★ Seed, Patricia (1982), “Social Dimensions of Race, Mexico City 1753,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 62, no. 4, pp. 569–606. ISSN: 0018-2168
- Sheriff, Robin E. (2001), *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race and Racism in Urban Brazil*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. ISBN: 0813529999
- Sims, Calvin (1996), “Peru’s Blacks Increasingly Discontent With Decorative Role,” *New York Times*, (Aug. 17), p. 2. ISSN: 0362-4331
- Skidmore, Thomas E. (1993), “Biracial U.S.A. vs. Multiracial Brazil: Is the Contrast Still Valid?” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 25, pp. 373–86. ISSN: 0022-216X

Smedley, Audrey (1993), *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press. ISBN: 0813306221

Snowden, Frank (1983), *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. ISBN: 0674063805

★ Soderstrom, Mark (2004), "Weeds in Linnaeus's garden: Science and segregation, eugenics, and the rhetoric of racism at the University of Minnesota and the Big Ten, 1900–1945," PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota.

★ Somerville, Siobhan (1994), "Scientific Racism and the Emergence of the Homosexual Body," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 243–66. ISSN: 1043-4070

Spitzer, Leo (1989), *Lives In Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil, West Africa, 1780–1945*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 0521378273

Stanton, William (1960), *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815–1859*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stavenhagen, Rodolfo (1997), "Indigenous Organizations: Rising Actors in Latin America," *CEPAL Review*, vol. 62, pp. 63–75. ISSN: 0251-2920

Steinberg, Stephen (1995), *Turning Back: The Retreat From Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy*, Boston: Beacon Press. ISBN: 0807041106

Stella, Alessandro (2000), *Histoires d'Esclaves dans la Péninsule Ibérique*, Paris: Ed. de l'Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, p. 86. ISBN: 271321372X

Stepan, Nancy Leys and Sander Gilman (1991), "Appropriating the Idioms of Science: The Rejection of Scientific Racism," in *The Bounds of Race: Perspectives on Hegemony and Resistance*, Dominick LaCapra (ed.), Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. ISBN: 0801497892

Streicker, Joel (1995), "Policing Boundaries: Race, Class, and Gender in Cartagena, Colombia," *American Ethnologist*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 54–. ISSN: 0094-0496

★ Sweet, James H. (1997), "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought," *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 54, no. 1, pp. 143–66. ISSN: 0043-5597

Takaki, Ronald (ed.) (1987), *From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 0195041879

Telles, Edward E. (1994) "Industrialization and Racial Inequality in Employment: the Brazilian Example," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 59, no. 1, pp. 46–63. ISSN: 0003-1224

Telles, Edward E., and Nelson Lim (1998), "Does It Matter Who Answers the Race Question? Racial Classification and Income Inequality in Brazil," *Demography*, vol. 35 pp. 465–74. ISSN: 0070-3370

★ Templeton, Alan R. (1998), "Human Races: A Genetic and Evolutionary Perspective," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 100, pp. 632–50. ISSN: 0002-7294

Thernstrom, Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom (1997), *America in Black and White*, New York: Simon and Schuster. ISBN: 0684809338

Tinhorão, José Ramos (1988), *Os Negros em Portugal. Uma presença silenciosa*, Lisbon, Portugal: Caminho, p. 89.

Torres-Saillant, Silvio (1998), "The Tribulations of Blackness: Stages in Dominican Racial Identity," *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 126–46. ISSN: 0094-582X

Trigo, Benigno (2000), *Subjects of Crisis: Race and Gender as Disease in Latin America*, Hanover, NH: Printed by University Press of New England for Wesleyan University Press. ISBN: 0819563935

Twine, France Winddance (1998), *Racism in a Racial Democracy: the Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. ISBN: 0585172528

- Van den Berghe, Pierre L. (1967), *Race and Racism: A Comparative Study*, New York: John Wiley. ISBN: 0471042668
- Van den Berghe, Pierre L. (1970), *Race and Ethnicity: Essays in Comparative Sociology*, New York: Basic Books. ISBN: 0465067980
- ★Vaughan, Alden T. (1989), "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 97, pp. 311–54. ISSN: 0042-6636
- Vaughan, Alden T. (1995), *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 0195086864
- Wade, Peter (1993), *Blackness and Race Mixture: the Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. ISBN: 0801844584
- Wade, Peter (1997), *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*, London: Pluto Press. ISBN: 0585346216
- West, Cornel (1993), *Race Matters*, Boston: Beacon Press. ISBN: 0807009180
- Westwood, Sallie (1997), "Nationalism and the Politics of National Identities in Latin America: Gender, Power and Racism," *The Eastern Anthropologist*, vol. 50, no. 3/4, p. 445. ISSN: 0012-8686
- Whitten, Norman E., Jr. and Arlene Torres (eds.) (1998), *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean: Social Dynamics and Cultural Transformations*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press. ISBN: 025321193X
- William and Mary Quarterly* (special issue) (1997), "Constructing Race," vol. 54, no. 1 (Jan.). ISSN: 0043-5597
- Williamson, Joel (1984), *The Crucible of Race: Black–White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 0195033825
- Wilson, William Julius (1978), *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ISBN: 0226901289
- Wilson, William Julius (1987), *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ISBN: 0226901300
- Wilson, William Julius (1997), *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*, New York: Vintage Books. ISBN: 0679724176
- Winant, Howard (1994), *Racial Conditions: Politics, Theory, Comparisons*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. ISBN: 0816623872
- Winant, Howard (2001), *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II*, New York: Basic Books. ISBN: 0465043402
- Zack, Naomi (1995), *American Mixed Race: the Culture of Microdiversity*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. ISBN: 0847680134
- Zack, Naomi (1998), *Thinking About Race*, Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company. ISBN: 0534534422
- Zurara, Gomes Eanes de (1960), *Chronique de Guinée*, trans. Léon Bourdon, Dakar, Senegal: IFAN, pp. 93–94.